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MAN INTO ANIMAL:
LYCANTHROPY IN FRENCH AND FRENCH-CANADIAN FOLKLORE AND LITERATURE

BY

ISOBEL SMITH

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

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submitted by Isobel Smith

in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

Supervisor

Date February 14, 1985

Abstract

The aim of this thesis is to examine the use made of the werewolf motif in French and French-Canadian literature.

The idea that man/animal metamorphosis is possible is universally accepted in folklore, although the psychological and social implications inherent in such a belief vary according to culture. Consequently, the method followed here was to inquire into the origins and attitudes that existed in prehistory (through Amerindian beliefs), in antiquity (in Greek and Roman legends), and in modern Europe, particularly France. The emphasis in the last area takes the form of an account of the integration of lycanthropic beliefs into the wider sphere of heresy and witchcraft during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The French werewolf (loup-garou) tradition was exported to North America in the course of the settlement of New France, and, as in the mother country, survived in a modified form until the late nineteenth or early twentieth century. An attempt is made, therefore, to compare the French and the French-Canadian traditions, and to account for, on sociological grounds, the variations that were introduced. Most can be traced to the introduction of Christian elements during the period of the European witch craze, which also led to an enlarging of the loup-garou concept by first incorporating animals usually associated with witchcraft as "familiars", and later, domestic animals. In

francophone North America, European French traditions were further modified by Amerindian beliefs, and by the mix of French regional traditions in a population that grew from a small base by natural increase, rather than immigration.

Finally, there is an examination of the use made of the motif as a source of aesthetic effect by French writers during the nineteenth century when constituting the genre of fantastic literature, and the use made by nineteenth-century French-Canadian writers interested in creating a literature based on folk traditions.

Folklorists and philologists whose collections of memorates and legends form the basis of those chapters dealing with folkloric beliefs concerning man/animal transformations have discovered that oral traditions lost ground with material and scientific progress. The advent of universal education during the nineteeth century, and that of film and television in the present century have only aggravated this situation. For some reason, twentieth-century French and French-Canadian writers seem to have exploited the motif only peripherally. The cinema, on the other hand, has explored the psychological ramifications of the man/animal metamorphosis, but have so altered the original folkloric belief as to make it almost unrecognizable.

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INTRODUCTION

This study grew out of an essay on lycanthropy in French Canada written in December, 1983, for Professor Milan Dimić's course "Studies in Motifs and Themes" at the University of Alberta. Having discovered the loup-garou while working on a folklore project as a school librarian, I wanted, in that essay, to study what use French-Canadian writers had made of the werewolf motif. The obvious comparison to make in an M.A. thesis in the field of Comparative Literature seemed to be with the French origins of the belief transmitted to North America by the settlers of New France.

Anyone undertaking such a task soon finds that time and space are boundless in folklore. Its universality is as wondrous as the beliefs, tales and legends themselves. Of course, limits must be imposed, and although passing reference is made to the folklore of other nations, the emphasis in this thesis is on France and francophone Canada. Nevertheless, it was necessary to examine wolf lore in various contexts to try to reach an understanding of the psychololgical and social implications inherent in the idea that a man can metamorphose into a dangerous animal. Consequently, the inquiry into the origins and attitudes that existed in prehistory (through Amerindian beliefs), and in

Greece and Rome, led to medieval Europe and a miasma of theological debate that grew out of the Church's struggle against heresy.

Until the twelfth century, it is easy to find examples of literature utilizing wolf lore. However, except for Laurent Bordelon's satiric work, L'Histoire des imaginations extravagantes de Monsieur Oufle...(1710), the full title of which is a list of many French superstitions,(1) there seems to be a gap from the Middle Ages until the nineteenth century. Whether this lacuna can be attributed to the horror of witch trials and burnings, and the related punishment of lycanthropes during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, is conjectural. Neverthless, as far as can be ascertained, such a gap does exist, and by the time the motif reappears, modification is evident.

Of course, modification is a given of folklore. Each narrator introduces new, personal details; the memorate becomes the fabulate, and confusion reigns as to its origin. And, one of the problems in studying folkore lies in the matter of defining terms, in any language.(2) Stith Thompson states:

> ...the characteristic feature of the folktale is that it is traditional. It is handed down from one person to another, and there is no virtue in originality. The traditional may be purely oral. The tale is heard and is repeated as it is remembered, with or without changes made by the new teller. Sometimes the tradition may be literary, as a story keeps being told by one author after another.(3)

Thompson goes on to point out that disagreement also exists among authorities regarding the terms "tradition" and "legend." According to Alan Dundes, "thus far in the illustrious history of the discipline [folklore] not so much as one genre has been completely defined."(4) Dan Ben Amos writes, "Such a critical statement reflects not only the development of folklore from an avocation to a science requiring rigor and clarity in the definition of terms, but also indicates the continuous changes in theoretical perspectives that pervade folklore."(5)

Max Lüthi, in discussing Märchen has described certain fundamental differences between the folktale (Märchen) and the legend (Sagen).

> In the middle of the Märchen stands the hero or heroine...The hero of the Märchen is isolated, but not at the mercy of the world...because he does not feel himself to be alone...Psychologists, who try to interpret the Märchen symbolically, refer to particular statements of different tales, to maturation and growth processes, to struggles with bonds to mother or father, to the search for the core of the true personality, to the devotion to unconscious spheres and neglected possibilities, to conflicts within the subconscious...It is indisputable that the Märchen plainly invites symbolic interpretation...the general picture of man...can be immediately gathered from the tales.
>
> The legend also gives a description of man. It is different from that of the Märchen because the viewpoint of the legend is different. The Märchen considers man, the legend considers what happens to man...looks fixedly at the inexplicable which confronts man. The legend sketches suffering man, stricken and perplexed, questioning, brooding, explaining, but also struggling with a difficult decision, losing himself in wantonness or rising to a sacrificial act. More than once it has been shown that the

> historical legend in particular sketches man as someone enduring fate, rather than shaping or mastering it...the man of the legend is a groper, a questioner, a small thing surrendered to the grip of monstrous powers.(6)

While no consensus has, as yet, been reached, it is generally agreed that, in contrast to the folktale (Märchen), the "legend" (Sagen) is that which is recounted as fact and believed by the teller.(7) Obviously, the same difficulties arise in French research where folklorists variously categorize their material as contes populaires (Märchen), croyances et superstitions, légendes and anecdotes (Sagen). This study intends to consider only loup-garou beliefs (croyances et superstitions) and "legends."

Nevertheless, whatever terms are applied, one must accept that different tellers adapt the material to new locations and circumstances, and perhaps the focus should be on the argument that if human actions or records are to have a meaning, there must be an underlying system of conventions that makes meaning possible. Many of these conventions stem from man's never-ending struggle to come to grips with the universe in which he lives, as well as with his own nature, and they make their way, via oral literature, into all forms of literature.

Unfortunately, many of the beliefs are being lost. A recent conversation with a young French-Canadian friend revealed something that should not have come as a

surprise, but did. Having listened patiently to an exposé of this study, he expressed amazement that there was a werewolf tradition in his home province. Yet, when I mentioned that "La Belle et La Bête" was part of that tradition, and that "Little Red Riding Hood" had been interpreted in the same context, we had a common talking point. He had thought of these two stories as simply fairy tales read to him in childhood. He had never considered them as having any connection with oral literature in general, and certainly not with the oral literature of French Canada.

Before the Second World War (1939-45), it was possible to find European and North American communities where story-telling was part of everyday social intercourse; communities in which entertainment generally consisted in family and friends gathering to play cards and gossip; where going to the movies was a rare treat, and television was tantamount to science fiction. In such places, each season had its own rites based on superstitions lost in time. Of course, even then, children did not realize that the stories heard, the observances of harvest and Hallowe'en, the rhymes that accompanied games were part of an oral tradition, part of a common rote-memory rooted in times beyond memory -- and passed on from one generation to the next. As childhood is left behind, and as "progress" changes man's mode of existence, time, place, and

experience often erase the memory of what was once an integral part of life. Werewolf beliefs have found a new, visual form of expression. They appear to be no less "popular."

CHAPTER ONE

LYCANTHROPY: ORIGINS AND ATTITUDES

The wolf, at least among some northern peoples, has engaged Man's attention and imagination as no other animal has.

As a general rule, North American Indians and the Inuit(1) viewed the wolf favourably. These particular groups aligned themselves with the wolf largely because both they and this animal were hunters. Given the same terrain, food-acquisition problems, and the fact that they were often competing for the same prey, both tended to stalk and kill in similar ways. The differences between the two parties had more to do with the fact that one of them moved around on two feet and killed with such extensions of self as arrows and spears.

Nevertheless, the human hunter was able to take advantage of the wolf's skill through careful observation. For example, the Plains Indians knew that a wolf hardly represented a danger to adult bison, or herds of bison, so it was common practice for a hunter to disguise himself in a wolf skin in order to approach the buffalo.(2) Consequently, the distance at which the herd took flight from humans was greatly decreased, and thus the trackers could use bow and arrow successfully.

To fit into his universe, the North American Indian had to do two things simultaneously: be strong as

an individual, yet tailor his personality to the welfare of the band. At the tribal level, the regard for the wolf was profound because he lived in a way that made the pack strong: he provided food for all -- including carrion eaters like the fox and the raven; he saw to the upbringing of his children; he defended his territory against interlopers. At the individual level, for those to whom the wolf was a medicine animal, the qualities that made the animal stand out as an individual were well understood. For example, the medicine-man among the Plains Indians carried his "medicine" -- a whole wolf skin with the head stuffed, nostrils and eyes marked with red paint, and the legs painted red to the first joints -- in his "bundle." When he was called upon to treat the sick, the medicine man painted himself to look like his "medicine" and imitated the wolf's movements as he affected the cure.(3) With this sense of interdependence among all creatures, and a strong awareness of the ways in which his own life resembled that of the wolf, the Indian naturally viewed the wolf as a paradigm.

Among the eastern tribes, the Mahicans, whose name means "wolf", were organized into three matrilinear clans: Bear, Wolf and Turtle.(4) This was also true of the Iroquoian Confederacy.(5)

> ...There was as yet no land. They wandered at the will of the wind. They had no women and they thought that their race was going to perish with them. Finally they learned, I do not know where,

> that there was a woman in the Heavens. They held a common council and decided that one of them named Hoguaho or the Wolf would go there... When he had reached there, he waited at the foot of a tree until this woman came out as she was accustomed to do, to draw water from a spring near the place where he had stopped. The man, who was waiting for her, entered into conversation with her and made her a present of bear fat which he gave her to eat. A curious woman who likes to talk and receive presents does not long delay in yielding. This one was weak even in heaven itself. She let herself be seduced. The master of the Heavens perceived it and, in his wrath, drove her away and hurled her out. When she fell, the turtle received her on his back, on which the otter and fishes, digging up clay from the bottom of the water, formed a little island which increased little by little and extended into the form in which we see the earth today. This woman had two children who fought one another...
>
> All other men have their descent from this woman through a long succession of generations...(6)

Ojibway mythology includes the culture-hero Nanabozho and his brother, Wolf.(7) As for other tribes, the Paiutes regarded Wolf as a beneficent creator, while his brother, Coyote, was a trouble-maker.(8) Among the Shoshone, the souls of the dead travelled to the land of the wolf and the coyote.(9) One of the great initiation feasts of those very successful agriculturalists, the Mandan Indians, was the Okippe, at which the one representing Numak-Machana, or the first man, wore a wolf's skin.(10) To the Gros Ventres, the wolf exemplified craft in war. Their scouts wore wolf skins when they went on a war party, and in fact, in their language, the gesture for "scout" was the same sign used for "wolf."(11)

Among Amerindians, the biological family, sometimes enlarged to include near kinsmen for mutual support and co-operative ventures, formed the basis of social organization. But, among the less migratory tribes that lived south and east of Hudson Bay, and on the Pacific coast, where the food supply was more assured, families tended to be overshadowed by larger social units, the clan and the phratry. Each had a totem, a particular animal from which it claimed descent, either directly or from a legendary ancestor associated with the animal.(12)

The word "totem" is derived from the Algonkian ototema, which roughly translates "he is my relative."(13) Totemism is, of course, a very complex system that governs marriage customs and describes the relation between siblings of the same mother. However it also describes the North American Indian belief of human kinship with animals.

> The animals in totemism cease to be solely or principally creatures which are feared, admired or envied: their perceptible reality permits the embodiment of ideas and relations conceived by speculative thought on the basis of empirical observations. We can understand, too, that natural species are chosen not because they are good to eat but because they are good to think. (14)

On the Pacific coast, the phratry had a stronger influence than the clan. Thus, the Tlinglit were divided into the Wolf and Raven moieties,(15) the Tsimshian had four phratries, the Eagle, Wolf, Raven and

Killer Whale.(16) In the British Columbia interior, the Shuswap nobility all belonged to hereditary crest groups including Raven, Wolf, Eagle, Beaver and Grizzly Bear.(17)

Thus, it can be seen that, at a number of levels, the native peoples of North America perceived the wolf almost as a fellow-creature who acted with insight and deliberation. Each perception contributed to and reinforced the other: as the individual grew stronger, the tribe grew stronger, and vice versa. However, the inclination of non-aboriginals to regard individual and social motivations in themselves as separate may, to some extent, explain the difference in their attitude toward the wolf. While there are no stories among the Indians of lone wolves, there are all too many among the people of European descent.

It seems, in fact, that "white men" and wolves cannot coexist. The extreme measures taken in the name of predator control that have severely decimated -- in some parts of the world exterminated -- the wolf is the violent expression of a terrible assumption: that man has the right to kill other creatures, not for what they do, but for fear of what they might do. Historically, the most visible motive is a type of fear: theriophobia. Fear of the beast. Fear of the animal as an irrational, violent, insatiable creature; fear of the animal in oneself. In the European tradition, the wolf is not so

much the animal that man has always known, but one that man has consistently imagined.

It is reasonable to suppose that the positive attitude toward wolves found among North American tribes was shared by all people at the food-gathering/ hunting stage, and in some Eastern cultures the wolf is still a focus of admiration.(18) Among the Mongols, the wolf is believed to be the ancestor of Genghis Khan. In Turkish mythology, the blue, or celestial wolf, is the power of the lightning, but is also associated with the idea of fecundity. In Anatolia, sterile women invoke the wolf to help them conceive. The Chinese, too, have a celestial wolf (the star Sirius), guardian of the Celestial Palace (the Great Bear), which again introduces the notion of ferocity. But,in certain regions of Japan, the wolf is invoked as a protector against other wild animals.

Loki, an ambivalent figure -- god or giant, trickster or demon -- from Teutonic mythology had a son Fenris, who assumed the shape of a wolf to chase the moon and threaten to swallow it. Thus, eclipses of the sun and moon, associated with Ragnarök, the destruction of all things and the end of the world, were thought to be the moment when the gaping jaws of the wolf opened to devour these bodies.(19) Loki, in punishment for his misdeeds, was chained like Prometheus. At the time of Ragnarök, the wolf will be loosed, Loki will break free

and overcome the gods.(20) But, in the same mythology, two wolves, Geri and Freki, were sacred to Odin, and whatever food was set before the god, he gave them to eat.(21)

However, the wolf is an obstacle on the Arab pilgrim's route; similarly, the she-wolf in Dante's "pilgrimage", where it assumes the shape of one of the Beasts of the Apocalypse.(22) The former associates the animal with sin, and the latter with malice involving fraud.

So, it can be seen that the symbolism of the wolf appears in various contradictory aspects, perhaps because the wolf is a twilight hunter seen at dawn and dusk.(23) The creature of the dawn represents an emergence from darkness into light, intelligence, and civilization; the creature of the dark a return to ignorance and savagery -- a passage back into the world of dark forces.

The Greek words for wolf (λύκος) and light (λευκός) are close enough to suggest an ancient etymological link with these opposing aspects.(24) The prophet Isaiah calls Satan, with whom the wolf became almost synonymous in the Christian era, Lucifer, "Son of the Morning."(25) The poet John Milton, in Paradise Lost, refers to Lucifer as "that Starr the Starrs among."(26) Thus, there is ample precedence for the ambiguous allegorical potential of the wolf in the human imagination.

Among Europeans, there gradually developed a fear of wolves bordering on hysteria, a dread no doubt generated by preyings on people and flocks. Folklore and fairy tales centering on the wolf supported this fear long after such danger had gone. It is this fear that lies at the heart of theriophobia in general, and lycanthropy in particular.

The word "lycanthropy" is normally used in two ways. It is the term for a form of dementia in which the patient imagines that he or she is an animal, especially a wolf, and behaves as such.(27) On the other hand, it means the popular belief that, on occasion, human beings can actually transform themselves -- or be transformed -- into a wolf or some other animal, and in this form slay and eat human beings. If wounded while in wolf form, the human shape bears a corresponding wound when restoration takes place.(28)

While the wolf transformation is most common in Europe, this metamorphosis of man into beast is by no means the only one. This belief is world wide, and, everywhere, the shape taken is that of the fiercest and most dreaded animal. Thus, in the most northerly regions of Europe, the werbear is common, and in modern Greece, the werboar. In the rest of the world, this remarkable menagerie includes wertigers, werleopards, wercrocodiles, and, in China and Japan, werfoxes.(29) The latter are usually women transformed, not perhaps

because of woman's predatory nature, but because of her cunning. Nevertheless, it is obvious that lycanthropy, in so far as it involves an actual belief in shape shifting, is connected with the wider belief in transformation that is of universal occurrence.

How these beliefs were transmitted in prehistoric times is a matter of conjecture and does not form part of the present study, which is concerned with the tradition as it existed in recent times and as it exists today in France and Canada. However, the antecedents of the superstition cannot be ignored. Like so many of the conventions of Western thinking, the origin of the European tradition can be found, at least in part, in ancient Greece, where there are a number of antecedents for lycanthropy.

A very early and primitive phase of Zeus worship was that practised by the Arcadians on Mount Lycaeus. In this cult, Zeus appears as an elemental god, the one who sends rain, but it was chiefly as a god who demanded human sacrifice that Zeus Lykaios was known and dreaded.(30)

> Among the marvels of Mount Lycaeus, the most wonderful is this. On it is a precinct of Lycaean Zeus, into which people are not allowed to enter. If anyone takes no notice of the rule and enters, he must inevitably live no longer than a year. A legend, moreover, was current that everything alike within the precinct, whether man or beast, cast no shadow...
>
> Before the altar on the east stand two pillars on which there were of old gold eagles. On this altar they sacrifice in secret to Lycaean Zeus. I was reluctant to pry into the details of

> the sacrifice; let them be as they are and were from the beginning.(31)

The wolf is also associated with another Panhellenic deity, Apollo, and to review his cults is to review the transition of a people from barbarism to civilized social and intellectual life.

In terms of the early Apollonine rites, it is interesting to note that although the god's name connects etymologically with the Doric word for "assembly", it also connects with the word for "wolf."(32) Aristotle, writing on wolves, preserves a curious legend according to which Leto, the mother of Apollo, took the form of a she-wolf to deceive Hera, and was led by wolves from the country of the Hyperboreans to the island of Delos, where she gave birth.(33) In the Iliad, Pandarus calls Apollo "Son of the She-Wolf."(34) In the Argive legend, a wolf comes down from the hills to kill the leading bull of King Gelanor, thus supporting the claim of Danaus to the throne of Argos. Danaus, convinced that the wolf had been Apollo in disguise, dedicated the shrine of Apollo Lykaios at Argos.(35) The temple commemorates a battle between a bull and a wolf, as does a bronze relief at Apollo's temple at Sicyon. Coins issued at Argos were adorned with wolves from at least the fifth century B.C. It was in wolf form that Apollo slew the Telchines,(36) and there is a bronze wolf at his most famous shrine at Delphi.

There does not appear to have been an Apollonine cult in which the priests actually imitated wolves, as there was among the Hirpi in Italy:

> This ritual wearing of a wolf skin occurred in the cult of Apollo Soranus on Mt. Soracte, where the guild of worshippers, the Hirpi Sorani, or 'wolves of Soranus', apparently wore skins of wolves and acted as wolves. Possibly the cult was totemistic in origin, and the Hirpi were members of a wolf clan.(37)

Nevertheless, there is certainly enough evidence to suggest that the wolf was Apollo's "familiar" animal, and may point to a totemistic belief from which an Apollo Lykaios emerged. At any rate, the association with Apollo, and with Zeus, does place the wolf in a pantheon of respected, if dangerous, animals.

In a later development, Apollo became more widely known as a sun god. Scholars postulate that either one or the other association may have arisen from the confusion in translation over the Greek words for "light" and "wolf", or from a deliberate play on words in the original Greek. The legend of Lycaon, in Ovid's Metamorphoses, is more explicitly part of werewolfism. The story tells how Zeus appeared in the home of the Arcadian tyrant in human form, and how, when the god revealed his divinity, Lycaon planned to take the guest unawares at night and kill him, to test his godhood.

> Not content with that, he took a hostage sent him by the Molossian people, slit the man's throat with his sharp blade, and cooked his limbs, still warm with life, boiling some and roasting others over the fire. Then he set this banquet on the

> table. No sooner had he done so, than I with my avenging flames brought the house crashing down upon its household gods, gods worthy of such a master. Lycaon fled, terrified, until he reached the safety of the silent countryside. There he uttered howling noises, and his attempts to speak were all in vain. His clothes changed into bristling hairs, his arms to legs, and he became a wolf. His own savage nature showed in his rabid jaws, and now he directed against the flock his innate lust for killing. He had a mania yet for shedding blood. But though he was a wolf, he retained some traces of his original shape. The greyness of his hair was the same, his face showed the same violence, his eyes gleamed as before, and he presented the same picture of ferocity.(38)

Whether or not Lycaon actually instituted the worship of Zeus Lycaeus before or after this event depends on which version one reads, but Pliny reported the practice of sacrificing a boy to Zeus.(39) The victim's bowels were mixed into a soup and served to Arcadian shepherds beside a stream.

The shepherd who eats the boy's gut (assigned to him by lot) howls like a wolf, hangs his clothes upon an oak, swims across the stream, and becomes a werewolf. For eight years he herds with the wolves, but if he abstains from eating men throughout that period, may return at the close, swim back across the stream and resume his clothes.(40)

Pliny is somewhat sceptical about the belief. "It is astounding to what lengths Greek credulity will go; there is no lie so shameless as to lack a supporter."(41) But, at the same time, he hints at horrid practices on Mount Lycaeus even in his time. Notwithstanding this, Lycaon's name is preserved in the

scientific name of the Eastern timber wolf, Canis lupus lycaeon,(42) and in the word "lycanthropy" itself.

There is another, more likely, explanation. The Arcadians were an agricultural people living in a region where wolves abounded, so they may have made human sacrifice to a wolf-god when the crops failed. Perhaps the king shared his guilt in this crime by inviting others to partake in the ritual meal, and one of this number could then have been chosen by lot to atone for the sin by being banished from human society for eight years (some versions say nine). Another possible explanation is that the cult of Zeus was grafted onto another already existing wolf cult that actually sacrificed human beings to placate the wolves that preyed upon their flocks.(43)

Whatever its origin and meaning, the story of Lycaon offers a perception of the werewolf as a bestial man who, if he can control his appetites for a specified time can regain his human status. The legend also makes clear the connection between the outlaw (44) or outcast and the wolf, as well as voicing one of the most persistent taboos in the folklore of Western man: the ban against eating human flesh.

However, in another Greek tradition, the fables of Aesop, there is a different attitude toward the wolf, and perhaps this points to the urban perception of the animal that was to become prevalent during the Middle

Ages. Aesop's wolf is not the noble beast of the hunting tribes; it is a base, not very intelligent, rapacious, impudent, and morally corrupt creature. The wolf of the fable does not engender hate in the reader, for the animal here is not hell-bent or malicious. Aesop's wolf is not a sufficiently complex character to arouse any strong emotion. In fact, it is the later wolf of folklore and fairy tale that creates conflict in the reader's mind, for the animal in these literatures is a much fuller character, capable of diabolical evil, although also, occasionally, of warmth and unflinching devotion. If the wolf of the fable represents the perceptions of the conscious mind, the wolf of folklore and fairy tale represents the unconscious, and becomes a vehicle for sustaining sexual fantasies and dreads that human beings, in their rational moments, cannot countenance.

In Roman times, the legend of Romulus and Remus evokes the image of the benevolent wolf, the devoted wolf-mother, but, at the same time introduces the notion of sexual imagery often associated with wolf lore. Plutarch tells us that the most widely believed version of the first century was that these children were the twin sons of a Vestal Virgin named Ilia (or Rhea, or Silvia) and Mars. When the children were born, they were banished to the wilderness. Faustulus, a swineherd charged with getting rid of the children, took them to

his home instead, where his wife, a woman of doubtful virtue, nurtured them.(45) In Latin, lupa means both she-wolf and prostitute.(46).

From Roman times also comes the story of a werewolf in Petronius's Satyricon,(47) often cited as evidence of a belief in werewolves at the time of Christ, but more probably a narrative written as entertainment, the historic value of which is unknown. The narrator, Niceros, tells the story of a soldier who is persuaded to accompany him on an errand of mercy. They come to a place where there are tombs, and the soldier goes off to stroll among the headstones. Chancing to look around, Niceros sees his companion stripping and throwing his garments along the path. The soldier makes a magic ring around his clothes and suddenly turns into a wolf. Shaking with fright, Niceros makes his way to a nearby dwelling, where he is told he has arrived just too late to chase off a wolf that had attacked some sheep. Fortunately, one of the household slaves had managed to wound the beast in the neck with a spear. As soon it is light, Niceros returns home, where he finds the soldier lying in bed bleeding like a stuck pig from a wound in his neck! Naturally this is enough to prove that he is a uersipellem, a skin changer.

This story is probably the literary antecedent for the lai of Marie de France, called "Bisclavret", a

narrative poem composed in the latter half of the twelfth century which, in the opening lines signals a folkloric belief in lycanthropy.

> Since I am undertaking to compose lais,
> I don't want to forget Bisclavret;
> In Breton the lai's name is Bisclavret--
> the Normans call it Garwulf. [The Werewolf]
> In the old days people used to say--
> and it often actually happened--
> that some men turned into werewolves
> and lived in the woods.
> A werewolf is a savage beast;
> While his fury is upon him
> he eats men, does much harm,
> goes deep into the forest to live.(48)

Despite this word picture of the werewolf that stresses its man-eating proclivities, Marie makes it clear that her protagonist, in his human phase, is noble; a trusted companion of his lord and loved by his neighbours. His one failing is that he loves his wife so much that he cannot even keep the secret of his terrible affliction from her. Not only that, the foolish man confides that, in order to effect the change, he must remove his clothing. But, he will not divulge where he hides it, for were his clothes to be lost, he would remain a werewolf forever. His wife proves her unworthiness by betraying her husband to a previously rejected suitor, whose desire she exploits by promising herself to him if he will steal Bisclavret's clothing.

A year later, the king, on a hunting expedition in the forest, comes across Bisclavret. The hounds are

on the point of tearing the hapless creature apart when the werewolf begs for mercy by kissing the king's leg and foot. The king returns to his castle, closely followed by Bisclavret, who is given a place at court, where he is kindly treated and where he gains the affection of the king and his knights. It is only when his wife's new husband makes an appearance that the werewolf shows his bestial nature by attacking the man. Some time later, Bisclavret meets his faithless wife, runs at her, and bites off her nose. Under torture, the wife confesses her betrayal, Bisclavret's clothes are restored, and the werewolf is transformed back into a man.

The narrative, in its twistings and turnings, presents the human condition as the beast that lurks within man (and woman), and makes us discover the man that lurks within the beast, a potential that can be realized by compassion. The beast answers this compassion with civilized behaviour, and his attacks on those who have hurt him demonstrate an ability to make moral distinctions that finally allow him the chance to recover his human form. The recovery of his clothing expresses, metaphorically, the beast's reintegration into a human community.

Another favourable picture of the werewolf is found in the Roman de Guillaume de Palerne, translated from the French about 1350 as The Romance of William of

Palerne, sometimes known as William and the Werewolf.(49) In this story, the werewolf is Alphonsus, heir to the Spanish throne who has been bewitched by his stepmother so that her own son might succeed. Through his agency, the course of true love is made to run smooth, and political and social order is restored in the kingdoms of Spain and Sicily.

Nevertheless, throughout history, man has externalized his bestial nature by finding a scapegoat upon whom he can heap his sins, and whose sacrificial death is his atonement. The werewolf seems to have been tailor-made to fulfil such a role in medieval Europe.

In ancient times, the living space of man and wolf had been, to a large extent, separate. During the Middle Ages, however, a number of inventions such as the heavy plough, the horseshoe, and the three-field system greatly affected agriculture, which intensified and began expanding into previously untouched areas. Thus, increased food production permitted increased population.(50) At the same time, as game grew scarce, wolves were drawn into human settlements where they exerted increasing pressure on domestic animals, and finally became a threat.(51)

In medieval times, the moderately rational, often sceptical, outlook of antiquity was giving way to a mode of thought in which a dominant role was played by the mythological, the supersensory, and the mystical.(52) A

duality between good and evil, God and the devil, served as justification for both oppression and brutal warfare. Rulers claimed God for themselves alone, whereas their enemies, whether heretics, faithless wives, or harmful animals, belonged to the Devil.

The idea of the werewolf now had its heyday, and illustrations of the time show Christ fighting wolves, and wolves in human clothing hanging from the gallows. In many of the illustrations, the wolves are black, although the black wolf is not indigenous to Europe.(53) The connotation with Satan is difficult to ignore. The Christian, as a member of Christ's flock, was the natural prey of wolves, whether real or imagined. Obviously no distinction was made between wolf and man-wolf, and presumably many of the reported attacks on human beings by Canis lupus lycaeon were attributed to werewolves.

However, despite the confusions and magical thinking, reports of wolves attacking humans are too numerous, fear of the wolf and the forest too strong, and the lore of the wolf too dominant to lay the blame entirely on superstition. People living in secluded hamlets had poor weapons, if any. During wars and epidemics, people died outside inhabited areas, and wolves doubtless exploited this source of food. It can be surmised that some wolves, having grown accustomed to the presence of men, both living and dead, and having

learned to distinguish between the dangerous and non-dangerous ones --children being especially easy to bring down -- should have learned to kill humans. Furthermore, wolves could, at times, transmit a terrifying disease for which there was no cure: rabies.

This sinister image of wolves was ripe for exploitation. Consequently, every conceivable form of wickedness was ascribed to an animal that was a competitor for food, a destroyer of domestic animals, and a danger to physical survival. Above all, the werewolf automatically assumed the aspect of a danger to spiritual survival.

CHAPTER TWO

FRANCE: Lycanthropy and Heresy in History

The question of whether or not an actual transformation of a man into a beast could take place was a question of much debate among theologians of the Middle Ages. The story of King Nebuchadnezzar (Daniel IV:32-3), and the injunctions of the New Testament were impossible to ignore. "Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves" (Matthew, VII, 15). Christ, instructing his disciples to cast out unclean spirits, said, "Behold, I send you forth as sheep in the midst of ravening wolves" (Matthew, X, 16). Predicting the catastrophe that was about to fall on his followers, the Good Shepherd warned, "But he that is a hireling and not the shepherd, whose own the sheep are not, seeth the wolf coming and leaveth the sheep, and fleeth: and the wolf catcheth them and scattereth the sheep" (John, X, 12). And St. Paul quotes Christ as saying, "For I know this, that after my departing shall grievous wolves enter in among you, not sparing the flock" (Acts, XX, 29).

On the basis of such Biblical authority, it is not surprising that the werewolf came into focus as a corollary of the witchcraft theory that developed about the eleventh century. Somehow, sources from classical antiquity became fused with regional folklore, and,

beginning with the thirteenth century, such beliefs were assimilated into Inquisitorial doctrines about heretics (although, there were yet virtually no trials for witches or lycanthropes).(1)

Even among the early Christians, a distinction had been made between those who accepted the doctrine as preached by the Apostles, and those who tried to adapt the Christian message to their own personal, doctrinal or disciplinary notions. What the Church rejected in thought or deed was heretical, and as early as the fourth and fifth centuries, the Christian community was shaken by such major heresies as Arianism, Donatism, Nestorianism, Monophytism in the East, and in the West, by Pelagianism. The Carolingian Reformation of the eighth and ninth centuries resulted in the first "medieval" heresies, but it was with the revitalization of all facets of life in Europe in the High Middle Ages that heresy once more became a real issue in the religious and secular worlds. The eleventh century saw the return of the Eucharistic heresy, and during the twelfth century occurred the rise of the Cathars and the Waldesians.(2) The Catholic Church declared war, and in the process, redefined both orthodoxy and heresy.(3)

Medieval popular religion was a lively mixture of many different elements, pagan, "folk", and Christian, and the whole of life was a battle between God-the-king and Satan-the-king.(4) For the most part, paganism was

assimilated rather than stamped out, and much that survived was an accidental and peripheral inheritance that encouraged beliefs in charms and spell. Evil and capricious spirits, devils and demons formed an essential part of the medieval scene.(5) But gradually, these beliefs came to represent a serious challenge to the clerical establishment and their more severe version of Christianity, which associated sorcery with heresy.(6)

Nevertheless, the essential optimism of a demographically and economically expanding population(7) may have kept the Devil at bay. It was during the multiple disasters of the fourteenth century -- the Babylonian Captivity(8) great famines, the "Black Death" -- that a cluster of "political" witchcraft trials of prominent people are reported. The age of popular rebellions later in the century coincided with the first descriptions of sabbats, and some of the first significant trials of humbler witches.(9)

H. R. Trevor-Roper points out that the belief in witchcraft was not a lingering ancient superstition only waiting to dissolve, but a new explosive force constantly expanding with the passage of time.(10) Of course, it grew out of folkloric superstition, but it was the organized, systematic "demonology" that the medieval Church constructed out of those beliefs that acquired a terrible momentum of its own.

Some of the pagan myths had crept into Christian syntheses, perhaps because the monks of the Middle Ages did not care about the veracity of the documents on which they laboured. They did not invent any more than did Pliny, Ovid, Pausanias, or Petronius, who had already drawn their material from a very ancient folklore. Yet when, for example, St. Augustine recorded the old story about Italian sorcerers who fed drugged cheese to their guests, and transformed them into beasts, there were many pedants who found the topic worthy of discussion.(11)

In De Civitate Dei Saint Augustine writes concerning "What is to be believed about the transformations that seem to befall men by the craft of demons":

> ...I should by no means believe that the soul, or even the body, can really be changed by the craft or power of demons into the members and features of beasts. I hold instead that a man's phantom -- which also in his thoughts and dreams is changed...can in some inexplicable way present itself to the senses of others in bodily form...The actual bodies of the men are lying somewhere...in a torpor of the senses that is heavier and deeper than sleep. The phantom, however, may appear to the senses of other men as being embodied in the likeness of some animal, and a man may seem to himself to be such a creature as he might imagine in his sleep...(12)

In general, the Church had discarded the idea of substantial transformation. Both Saint Jerome (340-420) and Saint Thomas Aquinas (c1225-1274) held that King Nebuchadnezzar had lost his reason, but that his corporeal substance had not altered,(13) and the Canon Episcopi, which became the official doctrine of the

Church in the ninth century, repudiated metamorphosis.(14) However, by 1490, the denial of this reality was officially declared heretical, and a new, positive doctrine of witchcraft was firmly established. In 1484, Pope Innocent VIII issued the Bull Summis desiderantes, a condemnation of witchcraft, and two years later appointed Dominicans Heinrich Kramer and Jacob Sprenger as inquisitors.(15) They compiled the Malleus Maleficarum, the "Hammer of Witches", a handbook for all concerned with the offences with which witches were charged, and a guide for their persecutors.(16) The momentous achieve-ment of this work, more comprehensive than any of its predecessors, was to portray the Devil as the common source of sorcery and heresy, and in such a way as to persuade secular courts and judges to pay increasing attention to witchcraft as a diabolical crime.(17)

There was, of course, a clear theological problem to be resolved, namely, the agency that had created these creatures and allowed them to exist. Only God could create. Hence a distinct dilemma. The solution arrived at was that God could do anything he chose, and, therefore, "through the works of witches comes the purgation or proving of the faith of the just."(18) In other words, in His omnipotence, God could permit evil so as to bring about ultimate good.

As far as lycanthropes are concerned, the

Malleus Maleficarum is extremely cloudy. It states "that the devil can deceive the human fancy so that a man seems to be an animal."(19) In other words, the transformation of a man into a beast is only an illusion. However, there is the caution that Satan can transform himself into "the shape and likeness of different persons, and in dreams deluding the mind he holds captive, leads it through devious ways."(20) Furthermore, its arguments are mixtures of theological opinion and folklore, so that it is not altogether surprising that those accused of werewolfism, on hearsay evidence based on superstitious beliefs -- and particularly often on the evidence of children -- were punished until the beginning of the seventeenth century. At a time when the science of genetics was unknown, certain unusual physical attributes were accepted as visible evidence that a person was a lycanthrope: extreme hairiness; straight eyebrows meeting over the nose; strong claw-like fingernails; small flat ears; or sometimes pointed ears; and the third finger on each hand being at least as long as the second.(21) At a symbolic level, the werewolf represented all that was base in man: inhibitions and taboos to which ordinary people were subject -- especially savagery and lust. It is during this medieval period of dark superstition and witch hunting that the werewolf's European ancestry comes into clearer focus. Witches and sorcerers were

believed to change into cats, hares, toads and the like, with the help of ointments obtained from the Devil, but the wolf fear rose up, too, and was projected onto Satan´s minions.(22)

The Renaissance rediscovered pagan symbolism and ancient myths. In art, literature, and thought, the new learning created an atmosphere of freedom. The diffusion of knowledge made possible by the printing press, the appearance of a reformed religion, and the scientific activity of the age modified ideas that had long been held as indisputable. Everywhere, there was renewal -- everywhere except in the realm of witchcraft and lycanthropy.(23)

Protestants, as well as Catholics, believed in the diabolical omnipresence of the Enemy found in the pagan cults. Ancient artifacts turned up by a peasant´s plough were taken as concrete evidence of the existence of demons. Poets who sang the glories of Olympus, and artists who depicted Leda and Venus, were accomplices of the Devil. And the metamorphoses that constituted so large a part of the ancient religions gave new strength to the Church´s affirmation of the transforming power of Satan.(24)

The Devil, it was believed, appeared at witches´ sabbats as a he-goat, bestial and lecherous and reeking of sulphur and phosphorus.(25) But he could also appear as a wolf. According to Pierre de Lancre:

> Il se transforme en loup plus volontiers qu'en tout autre animal parce que le loup est dévorateur et partant fait plus de maux que tout autre. Aussi parce qu'il est ennemi mortel de l'agneau, en la forme duquel fut figuré Jésus-Christ notre Sauveur et Rédempteur.(26)

This power of Satan to transform himself, once admitted by many theologians and intellectuals, was easily projected onto his followers, and it appeared that there were all too many witnesses ready to bring lycanthropes to the attention of the courts. And it was not only on the evidence of others that witches and werewolves were condemned but on their own ready admission that they had entered into pacts with the Devil, who emerged as a great spiritual potentate, the Prince of Darkness. If these confessions were freely given, we have to admit to the "subjective reality" of the experiences confessed, except that the remarkable similarity of these confessions creates a suspicion. It would appear that the mythology of these pacts, sabbats, and carnal intercourse with demons was built up not so much by the heretics themselves, but rather by the inquisitors. If the kingdom of God was supplied by the Word, the Devil revealed himself through the confessions of witches and lycanthropes.

> There are times when the intellectual phantasies of the clergy seem more bizarre than the psychopathic delusions of the madhouse out of which they have, too often, been excogitated.(27)

Jean Bodin, in the second book of his De La

Démonomanie de Sorciers (Paris, 1580), devoted a chapter to the study of lycanthropy -- "De la Lycanthropie et si le Diable peut changer les hommes en bestes". This jurist was convinced that metamophosis was possible.

> Or, si nous confessions que les hommes ont bien la puissance de faire porter des roses à un cerisier, des pommes à un chou, et changer le fer en acier, et la forme d'argent en or, et faire milles sortes de pierres artificielles, qui concurrencent les pierres naturelles, doit-on trouver étrange si Sathan change la figure d'un corps en l'autre, vu la puissance grande que Dieu lui donne en ce monde élémentaire?(28)

Included in the Démonomanie are reports of two famous werewolf trials; that of Pierre Burgot and Michel Verdun, and that of Gilles Garnier.

In December, 1521, Burgot and Verdun were tried before Frère Jean Boin, General Inquisitor for the diocese of Besançon. Before a packed courtroom, "Gros Pierre" confessed to having renounced Christianity to become a servant of the Devil. In a lonely place, he had met three men, dressed in black and riding black steeds. The chief horseman offered Pierre help on the condition that he renounce the Saints and the Virgin Mary and promise never to set foot in church again. Until this incident, Pierre had been a devout Christian. However, he accepted the conditions and, to seal the bargain, kissed the demon's hand. Two years later, Pierre decided to return to the Church, and nothing untoward happened. His sheep were healthy and their thick wool was bringing a good price at market;

Pierre prospered for about nine years. Then, he met Michel Verdun, who reminded him that he had forgotten his promise to his lord and had violated the pact by going to services.

At Michel's insistence, Pierre accompanied him to an open place in the woods nearby where a sabbat was taking place. Pierre was ordered to strip naked, and Michel besmeared him with an ointment, whereupon, it seemed to Pierre, he was transformed into a wolf. Michel also changed his shape, but without undressing, and together they spent the night running around the countryside. This exercise was repeated on several occasions, and Pierre reported that the next day he always felt excessively tired. However, once Pierre gained his "wolf-legs" so to speak, Michel initiated him into the truly horrible practices of werewolfism. At their trial, Pierre and Michel confessed to a number of hideous crimes, including having had congress with she-wolves.

Their strange habits ended abruptly when they misjudged a victim, a lusty, well-armed traveller who wounded Michel and followed him home. There, Michel resumed his human shape but was recognizable from his wound. Pierre was captured later, the two were brought to trial and, with a third werewolf, Philibert Montfort, were executed.(29)

Gilles Garnier, known as "the hermit of Dôle", was a

solitary who eventually married, but, unable to feed his family, he took to wandering in order to scavenge. One night in the woods he met a spectral man with whom he made a pact and, in return, was given an ointment that permitted him to change shape. At his trial, it was proven that, in wolf shape, he had seized a little girl in a vineyard, killed her with his "paws" and "teeth", and dragged her body into the woods. Here he stripped her naked and gorged himself on the flesh of her thighs and arms. Not content with this atrocity, he took some of the flesh home to his wife, Apolline. His downfall came when he was discovered by villagers attracted by the screams of his third victim. By the time they arrived, Garnier had assumed the form of a man, but he confessed he would have eaten the boy, even though it was a Friday. He was found guilty and sentenced to be burned in January, 1573.(30)

There is a case of werewolfism, reported in 1558, that is perhaps more folkloric than judicial. It involved a landed gentleman whose château was in the highlands of Auvergne. One day he met a huntsman whom he knew and asked if he might have some of the bag if the hunt was successful. As the huntsman went along a valley, he was attacked by a large wolf. His musket misfired, but he managed to draw his knife, with which he severed one of the animal's paws. The beast fled, howling, and the huntsman, with the paw in his bag,

returned to the château to tell the gentleman of the adventure. He withdrew his trophy, but, to his horror, it was no paw but a woman's bejewelled hand. The gentleman recognized one of the rings as belonging to his wife. With fear in his heart, he entered the château, where he found his wife nursing a bandaged hand. Compelled to show her wound, the woman confessed to having attacked the huntsman while in the form of a wolf.(31) Whether or not this incident actually took place, it was reported to Henri Boguet.

Few names are more celebrated in the history of witchcraft than that of this Henri Boguet, Grand Judge of the ecclesiastical court of Saint-Claude in the district of Burgundy. In 1601, he was responsible for drawing up a code that decreed that while sorcerers were to be hanged, and then burned, loups-garous were to be burned alive.(32) According to Voltaire, Boguet boasted that he had been the cause of six hundred lycanthropes being put to death.(33) In this jurist's Discours Exécrables des Sorciers (1590), there is a chapter on the "Metamorphoses of Men into Beasts and Especially of Lycanthropes or Loups-Garous".(34)

Boguet states that there are ample grounds for both affirming and denying that men can be changed into beasts. His evidence for the former is taken from the classical authors, from his neighbours in Franche-Comté, and from the Bible. But he shifts ground by stating

that "nevertheless, it has always been my opinion that lycanthropy is an illusion, and that the metamorphosis of a man into a beast is impossible."(35) Presumably this contention is made on theological grounds because the contrary opinion implies that the Devil can work miracles. Nevertheless, Boguet's writings contain a concise record of all the trials over which he presided, of which the following are representative examples.

In 1584, Benoist Bidel of Naizan and his younger sister were attacked by a huge wolf. People nearby came to the aid of the children, too late unfortunately to help Benoist, who had been mortally injured. The wolf, also wounded, dragged itself behind a thicket, where the dead body of a notorious witch, Perrenette Gandillon, was found, wounded precisely as the wolf had been. Shortly afterwards, Perrenette's brother and nephew were accused of witchcraft. They confessed that they habitually rubbed themselves with the Devil's ointment, assumed the form of wolves, and murdered and ate many young children.(36)

There is the case of the beggarwoman Clauda Gaillard. One day she and another woman, Jeanne Perrin, were going through a wood when Clauda, grumbling at how few alms her begging had produced, darted into some bushes. Out of them emerged a wolf. Jeanne crossed herself, let fall the alms she had collected, and ran away in terror, for she later swore that the beast had

human toes on its hind feet. She also volunteered that this wolf would never have harmed her. Nevertheless, Clauda Gaillard, together with another witch, Clauda Jamprost, was executed.(37)

On December 14, 1598, a tailor of Châlons was sentenced to be burned alive. His practice was to lure children into his shop, where he sexually abused them, then cut their throats and butchered the bodies. According to the evidence presented at his trial, at twilight, he assumed the shape of a wolf, and roamed the woods to prey on travellers, who presumably met the same form of death as the children. At any rate, barrels of bleached bones were found in the cellar of his premises. It is reported that he died unrepentant and blaspheming.(38)

In the same year, a werewolf trial took place at Angers. A company of archers had found the horribly mutilated, nude body of a fifteen-year-old boy in a remote spot near Caude. The limbs, drenched in blood, were still warm, and, as the discovery was made, two wolves were seen bounding away into the brush. The archers gave chase and captured a tall, gaunt man with long matted hair and beard, half-clothed in filthy rags, his hands bathed in fresh blood and with remnants of human flesh under his long nails. Called before the magistrate, he proved to be a certain vagabond named Jacques Roulet. He confessed that his parents had

dedicated him to the Devil, and that, by using an ointment, he was able to assume the shape of a wolf. The two wolves seen running away were his brother Jean and his cousin Julien. Roulet's confession contained details as to places and dates of attacks on local children, and information he gave led to the discovery of another mutilated body, so there was no doubt as to his guilt.

Sentence of death was passed, but, for some reason, Roulet was confined in the hospital of Saint Germain-des-Prés, where he was to be instructed in the faith and fear of God. One wonders how much of his "confession" was suggested by his captors, because it was reported to have been very confused and garbled. Evidently his speech was so poor that he could only grunt like an animal, and it is likely that the poor wretch was a mute. However, the authorities may have recognized that Roulet was suffering from the mental disorder now known as lycanthropy.(39)

Another such case caused a reign of terror in the spring of 1603 in the department of Landes in the extreme south-west of France. Several children had disappeared without trace, and there was talk of wolves. Then, a thirteen-year-old girl claimed that she had been jumped by an animal that resembled a large dog or wolf. Furthermore, a farm boy of her age, Jean Grenier, was boasting that it was he who had attacked her and would

have torn her limb from limb if he had had the chance; he also claimed that he had already eaten three or four children, and that he was the bastard son of a priest. Jean accounted for his sallow complexion and unkempt appearance by the fact that he wore a wolf skin. He claimed that he belonged to a coven of werewolves with whom he hunted the plump children he loved to eat.

All of this information led to Jean's arrest. On June 2, 1603, he was brought before the Higher Court of the Barony of Roche Chalais and de la Châtellenie, where he made a full confession. Under questioning, he admitted that the claim concerning his parentage was false and acknowledged that his father was Pierre Grenier, a day-labourer in a nearby hamlet, who had beaten him and from whom he had run away. One evening, Jean had been taken into the depths of the woods by another youth, in whose company he met "Le Maître de la Forêt", a tall dark man, dressed in black and mounted on a black charger. "Le Maître" dismounted and kissed Jean with a mouth as cold as ice, and from that moment, Jean became his bond-slave. "Le Maître" marked both boys on each thigh with a stiletto, and presented each of them with a wolf skin which, when donned after smearing themselves with an ointment, transformed each of them into a wolf. In this shape, they roamed the countryside, accompanied by their master, who took the form of a larger wolf. After each foray, the ointment and the skin

were returned to his safekeeping. Jean was forbidden by this lord ever to cut the nail of his left thumb, which was like a thick crooked claw.

Witness after witness came forward to corroborate Jean's confession. Finally, the court ordered the arrest of Pierre Grenier, whom Jean had accused of witchcraft. Grenier turned out to be a simple peasant, who clearly knew nothing about his son's doings.

Despite the appalling nature of the evidence, the court showed the utmost clemency. Jean was ordered detained in the Franciscan friary of Saint Michael the Archangel, where he was visited in 1610 by Pierre de Lancre, who reported that Jean was a lean, gaunt young man with fierce, deep-set eyes. His teeth were long and sharp, some of them white like gleaming fangs, others black and broken; his hands were claw-like with horrid crooked nails. He loved to talk about wolves, and often fell on all fours, in which position he was able to move with great agility. To the consternation of the monks, he refused the wholesome food they offered him, much preferring scraps of putrid meat.(40)

Two categories of transformation were recognized in the period of the witch trials: voluntary, and involuntary. The former included those accused of bestiality and/or having made pacts with the Devil; the latter, those who had sexual intercourse with the Devil as either incubus or succubus, or who were possessed. It

is among those who made a pact with Satan and received an ointment which enabled them to change into a werewolf whenever they wished that true sorcerers are found.

Those possessed were most likely deluded in thinking they could metamorphose.(41) In considering the ingredients of the witch-ointments (leaving aside children's blood and fat), however, we find many plants that form the pharmacopoeia of folk medicine: aconite (also known as monkshood or wolfsbane), belladonna, hemlock, poplar leaves, cowbane, deadly nightshade, sweetflag, henbane, parsley, opium and mandrake.(42) Belladonna and henbane are hallucinogens; hemlock causes extreme weakness in the muscles; aconite produces a tingling sensation.(43) It is entirely possible that lycanthropy was, to some extent, a drug-induced state.

Nevertheless, there is the evidence of partly-eaten bodies to consider, and it is entirely possible that, given the scarcity of fresh meat, lycanthropy may have been a symptom of a dietary deficiency that led to cannibalism. There is also, of course, the consideration that sadomasochism may have been at the root of many of the sex-murders reported at the witch-trials. Roland Villeneuve and William Eisler both make this connection.(44)

There are also certain diseases whose symptoms point to classic characteristics of the werewolf. Rabies, an illness easily transmitted by wolves,

involves an intensified thirst and acute spasms of the larynx on swallowing. Reports given of those suffering from this disease certainly suggest aggressive behaviour. Porphyria patients have badly discoloured teeth, and their skin is so sensitive to light that they develop ugly blisters when exposed to the sun. What better reason for only venturing out after dark? And hypertrichosis sufferers are excessively hairy.(45)

Further, honest but superstitious peasants who worked hard all day and stayed at home at night would naturally suspect less honest folk -- beggars, poachers, thieves -- who preyed on others. And how to accept the sudden prosperity of a neighbour, except by way of super-natural means?

The survival of superstition is difficult to explain. History rests on known facts that are verifiable. Legends, while they may be based on truth are altered and amplified according to the imagination of narrators who believe they are telling the truth without realizing that they are reporting folklore. Undoubtedly, some of the evidence given during the werewolf trials was based on the fear and horror engendered by actual wolf-kills. But, a systematic ecclesiastical doctrine that exploited popular superstition must have played a part in keeping alive a belief that had its roots, not only in pre-Christianity, but also in Biblical authority. And, as Trevor-Roper

concludes, a weapon that was forged for use against nonconformist groups was taken up to destroy nonconformist individuals. It might have been expected that the humanism of the Renaissance would have destroyed the intellectual basis of the need for a social scapegoat, but in fact, the intellectual regression of the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation gave new life to the stereotype of the enemy within everyone's midst.(46)

The witch craze did eventually decay and collapse, although documentary evidence for this is difficult to obtain.(47) Nevertheless, the lycanthropic aspect must have remained buried in the collective consciousness, because, between the years 1764 and 1767, the frightful monster known as La Bête de Gévaudan threw the whole of France into a state of terror.

Gévaudan, a former province that today comprises practically the whole of la Lozère, was a region cut by thickly wooded gorges, inaccessible, and at one time the haunt of the wild boar and the wolf.

Although a number of animals were probably responsible for the series of killings that began in the spring of 1764, popular belief soon converted them into one beast. The events were so horrendous that rumour, founded on a deep belief in loups-garous, soon established La Bête as a foklore character celebrated in poems, novels, serials -- even a play.

By August 8, 1764, fifteen partially eaten corpses had been found in the vicinity of Langogne, and a squadron of dragoons was brought in to organize a battue, which resulted in the killing of a number of wolves. A number of people claimed to have seen the incriminated monster, but their accounts varied. One was a perfectly credible description of an old wolf -- a long low body, tawny coat with a black stripe along the back, a long tail, and huge claws. Another witness said that the monster had a muzzle like a pig. Yet another swore that it had scales like a fish. There was a report that its hind feet were horse's hooves and its front feet were clawed. In addition, it was variously identified as a tiger-cat, a hyena that had swum the Mediterranean, a cross between a bear and a wolf which had migrated from the Alps, an enormous ape that stood on its hind legs to cross rivers, a panther, a lioness, a monster, a loup-garou, and a demon.

Local peasants were convinced that the killings were due to a warlock who had changed his shape, and that any attempt to capture him would be futile. One farmer, a much respected man, said that he had encountered the beast and heard it murmur in human tones, "Convenez que, pour un vieillard de quatre-vingt-dix ans, ce n'est pas mal sauter." Finally, after one hundred people and two hundred wolves had been killed, a type of lynx known as the loup-cervier was brought to

ground and despatched. There were no further human victims.(48)

The story of La Bête is no mere folktale; it is well documented in contemporary accounts. But, in the mid-nineteenth century, folklorists collected a significant number of superstitions and tales that subscribe to the persistence of the werewolf tradition in France.

CHAPTER THREE

FRANCE: Lycanthropy and Folklore

French folklore has many beliefs and legends about the loup-garou, the generic name of the werewolf in France. The term loup-garou, is a pleonasm in which the word garou itself means "man-wolf."(1) Regional variations are chin-grelin, galou, galipaude, galipote, garelaut, leperou, loup-cervier, loulerou, liberou, loup berou, loup brou, leuwarou, varou.(2) A number of current idioms employ the word loup: une faim, un appétit de loup; manger, dévorer comme un loup; à pas de loup; entre chien et loup; elle a vu le loup.(3) These idioms perhaps demonstrate the hold which this animal, now reported extinct in France,(4) had on the popular imagination.

Many of the loup-garou beliefs had their origin in antiquity, but the material collected by nineteenth-century folklorists shows that the theories formulated by the demonologists of the Middle Ages introduced Christian elements, so that for the most part lycanthropy became closely associated with sorcery.

This chapter considers folkore beliefs in lycanthropy under three main headings: the conditions under which man-animal transformation takes place; methods of "deliverance" the loup-garou; and other supernatural beings and animals associated with the loup-garou.

CONDITIONS GOVERNING THE MAN-ANIMAL TRANSFORMATION

1. Voluntary Transformation

In Brittany, the transformation was believed to be accomplished by putting on a wolf skin, upon which, the person assumed the actual externals of a wolf and ran through the fields and woods, attacking men and animals. At daybreak, the loup-garou hid the wolf-skin carefully, and returned home as a man. During the day, however, he still had a physical link with the skin in that if the skin had been hidden in a cold place, the man felt cold. There is a story of such a man who hid his skin in the oven. His wife lit the fire, and the loup-garou cried out, "I'm burning!"(5) The name given to these garous was den-vleiz (plural, tud-vleiz). In Franche-Comté, the garou rubbed himself with an ointment, and then the Devil covered him with a wolf skin.(6)

In Ille-et-Vilaine, and in the eastern part of the Cotes-du-Nord, persons who had made a pact with the Devil received an ointment from him with which they rubbbed themselves and changed into animals: wolves, cats, or cows. Various names such as gareu, guérou, were used in these regions, as well as loup-garou.(7) The creatures were constrained to wander at night during a predetermined period of time.(8) (Adolphe Orain also states that young men ran at night covered with a wolf skin to frighten people, and in this disguise, robbed isolated houses, thus capitalizing on the popular belief that such transformation

was possible.(9)

Beauceronnes believed that gypsies, beggars, and shepherds were sorcerers who made pacts with Satan in order to obtain supernatural powers.(10) In return, they were given an ointment which, when applied before going to the sabbat, allowed them to turn into such animals as wolves, cats, greyhound bitches, or cows.(11) They also obtained a book called "grimoire" in which they could read the past, present, and future of every living being, and which taught them how to raise spirits.(12) Sometimes, the pact was concluded to obtain wealth, but also to be able to become invisible in order to injure enemies. The contract was good for seven years, but, if the garou died before the time was up, his soul became the property of the Devil. If he lived to complete his part of the bargain, the Devil no longer had any dominion over him.(13)

Breton sorcerers had recourse to a number of books, of which Le Petit Albert was the most popular. One of the many feats the sorcerer could learn from this book was how to change into an animal.(14) In Brittany, too, beggars were generally believed to be sorcerers, and frequently exploited this superstition to prey on the populace.(15) In some parts of Brittany, the garou used the contents of a bottle given him by Satan. If, by ill-luck, he misplaced the bottle, he was forced to retain his animal shape.(16) In the Rennes area, two bottles of liquid were involved; one for s'enmorphoser, the other for émorphoser.(17)

Another method reported from Rennes was to strike the

base of the neck against the door of a church and recite a magic formula, or to hang a trivet about the neck. The latter gave the garou the added advantage of becoming invisible.(18)

In the Haut-Vosges, a sorcerer or witch received a magic belt which, when worn, permitted metamorphosis into a wolf. There is a legend concerning a young man who found one of these belts, put it on, and had to run as a loup-garou until the belt rotted and fell off.(19)

Sorcerers and scoundrels in Berry also made pacts with Satan and ran every night in the form of quadrupeds, principally wolves. Those who slept alongside a garou reported that every night the garou rose from the bed, left the house by way of the window, and returned the next morning, the body extremely cold and with wet hair.(20)

In Picardy too, sorcerers made satanic pacts in return for various powers and riches. Every Saturday, at midnight, they went to the sabbat, where "les animaux sorciers"(21) assumed animal shapes -- wolves, cats, dogs, goats, or sheep.

2. Involuntary Transformation

Part of the Breton tradition is that those who have not confessed for ten years, or dipped their fingers in the stoup containing holy water, are transformed into loups-garous.(22)

The belief existed in several regions that those who either committed a grave sin, or witnessed a crime but

refused to divulge the criminal, were, from the time of excommunication, sentenced "au garou."(23) This implied a direct, divine punishment.

In Normandy, when the perpetrator of a crime was unknown, a monitoire was read from the pulpit on three consecutive Sundays. If no one came forward, excommunication was pronounced, and the guilty person, or persons, was doomed à porter le varou.(24) In La Beauce and Le Perche, those who escaped ecclesiatical or civil justice, together with excommunicates were transformed by the Devil, presumably because they were no longer under the protection of God.(25) An expression in Berry, être fait loup referred to those outside the law.(26) (Cf. Ch. 1, p. 19 and n. 44).

Haute-Bretagne had a superstition that said that a garou was controlled by a demon that accompanied it everywhere, but that the unfortunate could pass his condition on to someone else should the opportunity arise.(27)

In Périgord, certain men -- particularly priests' sons -- were forced, at the full moon, to change into loups-garous. They jumped out of bed, climbed through a window and went to a fresh-water spring, through which they passed taking care to splash water on themselves. Upon emerging on the opposite side, they found themselves dressed in a goat skin supplied by the Devil. They spent the rest of the night running around the countryside on four feet, but, a little before daybreak, returned to the

spring to reverse the process.(28)

A Girondine tradition maintained that a person "mal baptisé ran le gallout. He could be disposed of by forcing him to run toward a pond into which he was thrown.(29)

Norman loups-garous were sometimes also souls of the damned who escape from their graves.(30) This belief suggests a connection with the vampire tradition, but, in France, a loup-garou is usually a living being who metamorphoses into an animal.(31) In the nineteenth-century, priests in Normandy regularly visited cemeteries to make sure that new graves had not been disturbed, because it was believed that loups-garous dug up freshly buried corpses, cut off the head, and threw it into a river.(32) Further, in Normandy, there were fantastic beings called lutins (lupins, lubins) who passed the night standing outside the walls of country cemeteries, chattering together in a strange tongue. Usually they were timid, and would flee from men, but in some districts they robbed graves to gnaw the bones.(33) Elsewhere, lutins are a breed of imp, usually evil. Sometimes, however, they attach themselves to people who prosper providing no one crosses the lutin. In French literature, this concept was exploited by Charles Nodier in Trilby, ou Le Lutin D'Argail (Paris, 1822).

Finally, sorcerers in Normandy(34) and Hautes-Vosges(35) had the power to transform others into beasts.

DELIVERANCE

As often as not, the way to "deliver" a loup-garou was to make him bleed.

Breton traditions were quite specific as to how delivery was to be accomplished. In the Vannes area, the wound had to be made with a pitchfork,(36) and around Quéven the bugul-noz had to go to a crossroads on nine consecutive nights to wait for a deliverance -- either someone with a pitchfork, or a mad dog.(37) At Rennes, a loup-garou would sometimes confess to a neighbour and ask to be struck with a well-sharpened axe.(38) Loups-garous in Nantes had to have their heads cut off with a scythe, then the body was thrown into a river where a monster came to eat it. Immediately, the loup-garou somehow found his head and was cured.(39)

A similar tradition is suggested by a Norman legend about a large white dog that was worrying the local flocks. The villagers tried to shoot the dog, but the bullets simply slid off its fur. Finally, a man armed only with a pitchfork came face to face with the beast one day. He jabbed the dog in the side, and a girl appeared, mortally wounded. The local priest would not bury the body in consecrated ground, so it was thrown into a very deep pond. The waters began to boil, and waves mounted so high that the pond was completely drained. At the bottom, the peasants dug a deep ditch where they burned the former loup-garou, and then drained wells to refill the dried-up

pond.(40) Another way to deliver the Norman loup-garou was to prick him between the eyes.(41) The Norman loup-garou could also pass on the curse to anyone who found his clothes, which he had presumably removed to be able to "run."(42)

In Picardy, an invisible loup-garou could be delivered if someone was willing to swing a sword around in the air until it struck the garou.(43)

The Haute-Bretagne loup-garou often had to carry a little demon around on his back. This could be removed by a priest throwing his stole around the demon's neck and then pulling with all his might. He threw holy water on the demon, and the garou was thus freed.(44)

The Beauceronne and Percheron tradition was to grab a loup-garou, push his head under water, then hit it until blood ran. The power of Satan escaped with the blood, and the garou resumed his human shape.(45)

Loups-garous were usually impervious to bullets unless a projectile had been blessed in the chapel of St. Hubert (as long as the one who fired unknowingly had a four-leafed clover on his person)(46) or, with a bullet blessed at Candlemass by saying three Pater and three Ave.(47)

If anyone met a loup-garou and spoke to him, either deliberately or accidently, this could have one of two results: In Brittany, the loup-garou had the right to give the skin with which he was covered to the speaker, so that he was delivered, and the other had to run in his

stead.(48) In Le Perche, however, the loup-garou had to begin his seven-year sentence all over again.(49)

In L´Ille-et-Vilaine, the loup-garou peered from the shadows at a roadside cross, but would not go near one. If someone ended the enchantment by making him bleed, however, he had to go to the cross, wrap his arms around it, and pray before his human form could be restored.(50)

Before leaving this section on human metamorphosis, mention should be made of a story told in the Bain district of Brittany because, (a) it specifies a woman, and, (b) the garou is recognized by a wound inflicted while in animal shape. This woman went out every night, and shortly after her departure, a large white cat would enter the house. One night, the woman´s husband cut off one of the cat´s paws. Three days later, the woman returned, missing a hand.(51)

ASSOCIATED SUPERNATURAL BEINGS AND ANIMALS, AND THEIR BEHAVIOUR

In Vannes (Brittany), the bugul-noz and the loup-garou was either a person who circulated at night in human shape [sic], or one who transformed into an animal and tried to find others like himself. The garou spat fire and carried the damned around in a flaming cart. It was a diabolical monster unconnected with lycanthropy, but the bugul-noz filled the role usually given to the loup-garou.(52)

La Grand´Bête of Berry was another diabolical monster that did not really resemble any quadruped, and perhaps

resembled all.(53) La Levrette (in Limousin, lou Leberou) was generally confused with La Grand´Bête, but was more often reported as a half-starved animal, sometimes a white hare, sometimes a white greyhound bitch, that roamed around the sheep-folds or dispersed the cattle in the fields. If anyone fired at it, even with a bullet blessed at Candlemass, the animal´s prodigious ability was increased and it escaped unharmed. It seems to resemble what is known elsewhere in France as the loup-garou, but is rather a fantastic apparition that comes from nowhere. Those who reported having seen it -- or rather those brave enough to approach and observe -- claimed that the creature rapidly took on dimensions "telles qu´elle finissait par se perdre dans le temps" -- disappeared into thin air. No particular misdeeds are cited in this case, but its appearance was supposed to presage some catastrophe.(54)

The Loup-Brou of Berry, on the other hand, was a real being who attacked unsuspecting travellers at night. Its presence was almost always announced by rattling chains and horrible howlings, and finally by its eyes flashing in the shadows.(55)

Donges (Brittany) also had La Levrette Blanche, which was sometimes as small as a mouse, but which could grow to the size of a heifer. It would ordinarily not attack a human, but, if someone hit La Levrette Blanche, it pounced, overturned the attacker, and killed him with a fiery breath. This animal moved around at night and

disappeared under the ground at dawn.(56)

Berry, Brittany, le Pays de Galles, and Jura all had tales about les chevaux nocturnes.(57) These animals allowed themselves to be mounted, but then threw their riders into the nearest river or pond. In some parts of Brittany this satanic horse was always black and spent the night galloping back and forth between the church and the market-place. Another version says that it shot sparks from its hooves and searched out a rider which it carried through brambles. If hit with a branch from a hazel tree less than one year-old and blessed by the priest, however, this horse could be tamed.

At Saint-Gérard (Brittany) this beast was a white horse that waited at the cross of Beaulan and allowed itself to be led to a stable by a passerby. There, it changed into a cat, a hare, or a rabbit, laughing wildly all the time. Anyone who mounted this creature was deposited in a quagmire.(58)

There is a story from the Haut-Vosges of a witch who turned her victims into horses by placing a bit between their teeth as they slept.(59)

There were two, contradictory, aspects of the Breton Le taureau garr. According to one tradition, this bull went around the villages at night breaking in the doors of sinners with its horns; a means of visiting God's retribution. According to a second, it was the Devil in disguise, running along the lanes and tossing those who crossed his path.(60)

Brittany had two further phenomena. The Devil was also supposed to roam in the shape of a black dog looking for sinners.(61) And, a black hen was frequently given to the Devil as a sign of good faith by those seeking to conclude a pact with him.(62)

In Berry, there were bluish lights that danced at night on the surface of still water. These were known as les flambeaux, flambettes, flamboires, or feux-fous. They were considered to be souls in pain who demanded prayers, or the souls of the wicked who dragged peasants along on a desperate course through countless detours to a pond or a river. There, the hapless victims were drowned, to the glee of their captors.(63)

Finally, there were les meneurs de loups, men who had the power to "charm" wolves and claim their obedience. The meneur could be a garou, or a sorcerer. Paul Sébillot suggests that this belief is an attenuated and modern form of the beliefs attached to lycanthropy.(64) Among the Bourbonnais in the eighteenth-century, loups-garous were men who lost their human shape and led packs of wolves in dance. These terrifying creatures, with eyes that flashed like lightning and jaws that spat flames, had skins impervious to bullets.(65) In the Gennes district of Britanny, there were men who secretly raised packs of wolves to ravage the countryside and destroy designated flocks.(66) In Normandy and La Beauce, it was very dangerous to be on ill-terms with such a man.(67) In

Haute-Bretagne, the meneur himself changed into a wolf by means of a liquid given him by the Devil and was a true loup-garou. His metamorphosis ended when he was made to bleed.(68) However, others in this region believed that being le meneur was a hereditary calling passed on from father to son.(69)

Meneurs were sometimes helpful. One legend tells of a man lost in a forest who came to a crossroads where he met a meneur with his wolves. They consulted amongst themselves, and decided that they would take the man home, However, upon arriving, he had to give the wolves bread and grain.(70)

The Ardennes version of this tradition maintains that the meneur "charms" his wolves by reciting a prayer over them and forbids them to touch anyone he does not specifically designate. This region also has a legend in which the wolves aid those in trouble.(71)

In La Beauce, montreurs d'ours and meneurs de loups were gypsies and shepherds who made pacts with the Devil to obtain supernatural powers over bears and wolves.(72)

There is a story from Picardy about a woman whose husband went out every night. She accused him of going to meet other women, but he assured her that this was not so, and promised that the next night he would send her company. The "company" turned out to be two huge wolves who sat on either side of the fireplace until the husband returned. While not explicitly in the meneur de loups tradition, this story certainly suggests something similar.(73)

In central France, le meneur always changed into a wolf and spoke to the pack in their own language. He guided them to badly guarded flocks, preferably those against whose owners he bore a grudge. If a battue was organized in the district, the meneur showed the wolves defiles in the forest where they could hide and would even erase their prints in the snow.(74)

In Berry, sorcerers could hypnotize wolves and lead them to magic ceremonies at crossroads in the forest. The name given to them in this region was serreur de loups because, during a battue, the sorcerer crowded the pack into the garret of his home.(75) According to George Sand, bagpipers gave their souls to the Devil in order to learn music and be able to lead his lupine servants.(76)

* * *

Obviously, many French regional lycanthropic beliefs are almost identical, which suggests a common antique base. The variations that exist, and the confusion that reigns between loups-garou and other supernatural beings, may be due to the diffusion of other traditions during periods of migration within Europe. This, of course, is pure conjecture and difficult, if not impossible, to document.

That all these beliefs survived into the nineteenth-century has several possible explanations. One is the profound effect on a superstition-ridden populace of the trials of witches and lycanthropes during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Another is the exploitation of

people by mischief makers -- beggars, poachers, thieves -- who, of necessity, carried on their nefarious practices under cover of darkness. The third, and most likely, is that in country districts, the most popular form of entertainment during the long winter months was still les Veillées or Veillons. At these, peasants gathered to sing the old songs and recount legends and marvellous tales "le poème des imaginations champêtres", a means by which the unlettered were able to have their own world of fictions in which they could forget for a while the realities of their everyday lives. George Sand's four novels La Mare au Diable, La Petite Fadette, Françcois le Champi, and Les Maîtres Sonneurs, based in part on tales heard in the villages of Berry, form a series under the general title Les Veillées du Chanvreur.

These get-togethers were part of a way of life that scientific and industrial progress have, to a great extent destroyed. Even nineteenth-century French folklorists found that only the old people knew the traditions and tales.

> Aujourd'hui, les veillées ont presque disparu, et avec elles, les traditions orales ou elles avaient pu si librement s'épanouir. Les moeurs se sont modifiées; l'industrie a envahi les gros bourgs; on est amoureux de chez soi; et, si, le soir, le paysan et sa famille veillent autour de la lampe moderne, ce sont les Nouvelles diverses et les drames du Roman-Feuilleton, lus dans le journal du jour, qui font les frais de l'entretien: contes et legendes d'antan, ces "vieilleries" sont mis au rang des vieilles lunes.(77)

Scepticism has destroyed many of the beliefs that

once were accepted by the naive and credulous. The young are no longer aware of this aspect of their cultural heritage. Oral literature has a tendency to disappear -- not all at once -- but little by little. Universal education has undoubtedly hastened the process. It has opened new worlds, but has also produced a cultural uniformity that ignores, even condemns, the customs and beliefs of the past.

CHAPTER FOUR

FRANCE IN THE NEW WORLD

> Lors de l'établissement du Canada, notre vaste contrée avec ses fleuves, ses lacs, et ses forêts immenses devait paraître enveloppée de mystère. D'autre part, l'état d'âme des colons, leur naïveté et leur foi sincère, l'éloignement de la mère patrie et des centres civilisés, tout cela ne pouvait manquer d'influencer ces courageux enfants de France qui traversaient les mers pour venir fonder une nation dans un pays vierge.(1)

From Roberval's attempt at colonization in 1540 until the end of the sixteenth century, little is known of the connection between France and the lands surrounding the gulf and lower reaches of the St. Lawrence. Ties existed, but they were the economic ties of cod fishing and a nascent fur trade -- private, commercial, and undocumented. However, this casual bartering between fishermen in search of fresh water and local Indians became a commercial activity with the establishment of a trading centre at Tadoussac on the Saguenay River. And, it was the expansion of the fur trade into the interior that determined that New France would be primarily a northern colony.(2)

In the trade, it became accepted practice to leave young men (some of whom eventually settled at Quebec) to winter with Indians, learning their language and becoming interpreters. The survival skills they learned greatly influenced the culture of New France and probably contributed in no small measure to the development of a new type of North American: le

Canadien.

French officials were impressed by the fact that Cartier's discovery lay at the same latitude as central France. They expected the climatic conditions and seasonal patterns that pertained at home and did not know that the new land was subject to a continental climate that produced, in effect, only two seasons -- a short, hot summer, and and a long cold winter. (Cartier and those who followed him were deceived by the happenstance that summer could extend beyond September). Yet, intermediate seasons do not exist in a northern climate that is dominated by "l'hiver qui dévore à peu près le printemps et mord sur la fin d'automne."(3) Les Relations des Jésuites sent back to France to stimulate donations and recruit colonists, depicted New France as a privileged place, a sort of promised land where men and women who aimed to further the interests of religion and also avoid the corruption of the world would find much work to do.(4) Many passages "idealize" winter,(5) but given a Jesuit's ascetism and zeal for martyrdom, this is hardly surprising.

Once the Crown became an active colonizing agent, every prospective emigrant was subjected to rigorous investigation by religious authorities before being permitted to leave France, in order to ensure that the colony would not be tainted in any way. Of course, this idyllic state of affairs did not last, as is clear from Séguin's account of "la vie libertine.(6)

It has often been assumed that the majority of colonists who came to settle permanently, were Normans. But a number of historians have investigated this matter and discovered otherwise. P. Archange Godbout compared his own findings with those of Stanislas-L. Sortie for the period 1608-1700, and those of E.-Z. Massicotte for the period 1700-1765 in order to arrive at the tables that follow.(7)

TABLE I

COLONISTS TO NEW FRANCE IN THE 17th CENTURY (1608-1700)

Province of Origin	Lortie List 1	Lortie List 2	Godbout	% Average
Normandie	683	958	547	18.5
Ile de France & Paris	567	621	508	14.7
Poitou	370	569	352	10.9
Aunis, Iles de Ré & d'Oléron	403	524	332	10.6
Saintonge	212	274	185	5.8
Perche	187	238	64	3.9
Bretagne	121	175	117	3.5
Anjou	129	139	89	3.0
Champagne	114	129	83	2.8
Maine	126	113	78	2.7
Guyenne	94	124	85	2.6
Limousin & Périgord	84	120	86	2.4
Picardie	84	96	77	2.2
Angoumois	69	93	71	2.0
Touraine	79	91	58	1.9
Beauce	46	105	74	1.9

About another 10% must be added for all the other provinces combined.

TABLE II

COLONISTS TO NEW FRANCE IN THE 18th CENTURY (1700-1765)

Province of Origin	Massicotte	%	Godbout	%
Ile de France	401	11.9	516	12.2
Normandie	350	10.3	464	10.9
Bretagne	265	7.9	346	8.2
Poitou	205	6.1	255	6.0
Guyenne & Agenois	211	6.3	244	5.8
Saintonge	180	5.4	232	5.5
Auniis & Ile de Ré	153	4.6	238	5.6
Languedoc	159	4.7	219	5.2
Gascogne	151	4.5	196	4.6
Champagne	119	3.5	152	3.4
Lorraine	99	2.9	111	2.6
Anjou	80	2.4	119	2.6
Franche-Comté	81	2.4	91	2.1
Picardie	76	2.3	93	2.2
Bourgogne	71	2.1	91	2.1

Further, Godbout prepared 12 genealogical tables to discover what part these provinces played in the creation of French-Canadian society. Using the calculation that by the tenth generation an individual has 512 ancestors, he established that the following mix had occurred by the twentieth century.

Normandie	16.8%	Saintonge	3.6%
Ile de France	13.9%	Maine	3.4%
Aunis	13.6%	Anjou	3.2%
Perche	10.1%	Bretagne	3.1%
Poitou	8.1%	Angoumois	2.3%
Picardie	4.5%	Champagne	1.5%(8)

From the beginning of settlement, there was a policy of making Frenchmen of the Indians, a policy based on conversion to Christianity and gainful employment. This, the religious orders laboured long and hard to effect, but, the natives, of course, had no wish to become "civilized". They considered their way of life much superior to that of the newcomers. French

youth, however, coming in contact with the tribal allies of the régime envied the life of the les sauvages, "the ones who live with nature," so conversion tended to take the opposite direction. Mère Marie de l'Incarnation, writing to l'Abbé de la Tour in 1667, astutely remarked, "A Frenchman is sooner changed into an Indian than an Indian into a Frenchman."(9)

In fact, many a colonist discarded old-country habits, manners, and values. The labour of the farm, factory, or dockyard, did not appeal to him, and beyond Québec, Trois-Rivières and Montréal lay territories teeming with fur-bearing animals. Trapping offered a much more profitable way of life, a life that promised adventure -- and total liberty. Consequently, significant numbers of men abandoned the routine drudgery of the colony to become coureurs de bois,(10) unlicensed traders. These "runners of the woods" were often away from the St. Lawrence Valley for months, even years. On their return with canoe loads of furs, they drank and gambled until the need for ready cash drove them back to le pays sauvage.

* * *

After 1627, when the first real efforts were made to clear land, the population consisted more of artisans than défricheurs. Although they were concentrated in a relatively small area, life was a constant struggle against the threat of isolation and, of course, the

rigours of a harsh climate.(11)

As far as shelter was concerned, they could not envisage living in bark huts or holes in the snow as the natives did during the winter,(12) so their buildings conformed to French architecture in design and construction. Distance, and the physical limitations on mobility imposed by deep snows, however, favoured early acceptance of two aboriginal modes of winter transport: the snowshoe and the sled. (In the case of the sled, this engendered a technology that was to flourish for a very long time.)

Yet another adaptation was the food consumed. In France, the traditional peasant diet was based on cereals supplemented by fish. But, neither the amount of cleared land, nor the supplies shipped in permitted the storing of cereals in New France, so here, too, was a break with tradition. Thanks to the adoption of Indian methods of winter transport and hunting techniques, fresh game made up for the lack of meat obtainable from livestock and was preserved by freezing or smoking. Later, when domestic animals became more numerous, the same conservation techniques were applied, although pork would be salted.(13)

The first colonists insisted on wearing French clothing, a fact to which mercantile bills of lading bear witness. But, gradually, the need for warmth forced adoption of Indian dress -- tunic, leggings, moccasins, mittens, and a fur cap. When the supply of

clothing improved, that is, when flax, wool, and leather were home-produced, Indian items were discarded, perhaps because this style was so closely associated with the hivernants and the coureurs de bois -- types against whom the clergy fulminated.

Life was a constant battle against cold, hunger and disease. In the early days of the colony, the end of winter saw communal graves in which coffins, covered with straw, were piled. It is difficult to say whether the hardiest survived, or those who adapted best, but whatever the answer, a new breed evolved from a relatively small base, and new cultural traits appeared in response to the new environment. Slowly, the meaning of New France changed. It became more than a region where a fur trade flourished and a great mission was in progress. It came to signify a distinctive country with a distinctive people. A frontier was distilling in the watershed of the St. Lawrence, a community of people no longer French, but Canadien, because they were adjusting their lives to a new environment.

Despite his problems, the habitant enjoyed a much better standard of living than the French peasant. There was no aristocratic monopoly of wildlife: meat and fish were in forest and river for anybody's taking. Wood and leather, vital commodities of the time, were plentiful. Habitants were veritable jacks-of-all-trades, able to fabricate anything they needed.

* * *

There was no land-cultivation model for the first settlers to follow. Even the most agricultural of Amerinds cleared a small area where they grew corn until the soil was exhausted, and then moved on. Thus, a new scheme, the rang system, had to be devised to exploit the geographical features -- natural routes and soil varieties -- a process that in Europe had been endlessly modified over centuries. The initial settlements were alongside running water on the St. Lawrence itself, and later, on some of its tributaries. Population increase in the eighteenth century led to a second rang, inland.(14)

The rang system had two major advantages: it allowed settlers to work large tracts of land, while the layout of the lots avoided isolation. Indeed, a strong sense of solidarity permeated relations among neighbours. This was indispensable in a new country where danger was a constant; hostile Indians, forest fires or burning buildings, famine, sickness, and a long frigid season. Neighbourliness was vital to the habitant way of life, and le premier voisin was often more important than family. He was invited to all domestic gatherings, consulted on all important decisions, and expected to help out in all large projects.

As the fundamental social unit, the rang always preceded that of the parish and village. The religious organization of the first settlements in New France

could be achieved only slowly because of the small number of priests and the extensive area of settlement. A missionary was able to visit his flock only at irregular intervals. Peter Kalm in his Voyages speaks frequently of the calvaires he saw along the length of the route from Quebec to Montreal. These wooden crosses, of "cinq á six verges" in height, had a niche on the side facing the road that contained a statue of the Virgin and Child protected by a small glass window. Every Sunday that they could not attend Mass, the habitants of the rang gathered at the calvaire to recite the rosary. Another traveller, John Lambert, became quite angry with his driver, who insisted on stopping to say a prayer at every one of these roadside crosses.(15)

As settlement became more concentrated and more priests were trained within the colony, the original parochial territories were subdivided into smaller units that corresponded to what are now designated as parishes. These could be brought exclusively under the care of one curé.

Curés were pastors of communities lacking organization and often became the local authority. They were not only spiritual leaders, but acted as parish registrars, were consulted in legal matters, and were seldom opposed by their parishioners.(16) Curés were the supreme arbiters; they presided over and controlled parish life. They began then, and have never ceased to be, "the strongest link in parochial life...the natural

protector and the natural representative of the habitant."(17)

* * *

Life followed a pattern set in the "golden age" of the first part of the eighteenth century. The brief growing season meant that the habitant had to work long hours in the summer months. Market days were an opportunity to go to town to sell fresh produce; winter time meant taking frozen meat and wood to town. Both provided cash to buy a few luxuries; ribbons for the womenfolk, and a supply of Jamaica rum for the men.(18)

Winter activities included spinning and weaving, and leather work. But there was always time for socializing with neighbours. Country folk took all the entertainment they could out of life and left ambition to others. Even in the summer, at the end of the day's work, neighbours would gather for la veillée.

In the words of a twentieth-century Québecois chansonnier, Gilles Vigneault, "Mon Pays, ce n'est pas un pays, c'est l'Hiver." The veillée, a perfect way to forget the season and its bleak landscape, was an old French tradition, but one that changed to reflect the customs of New France.

In the colder regions of France, les veillées were usually held in stables, at least in the nineteenth century. (It was a way of saving heat and light.) These meetings were utilitarian rather than

recreational. Most of the men and women worked at their domestic chores while listening to popular singers and conteurs.(19)

In New France, no one ever considered entertaining friends in a stable. The habitant received his guests in his house, usually the kitchen, which was a communal room, and which had space for dancing. And, there was no need to worry about fuel. Families, friends, and neighbours gathered to enjoy themselves, and nobody thought of working on these festive occasions. They laughed, drank, sang, danced, played games, particularly cards, and told stories brought to the colony by their ancestors.(20) Thus did French oral traditions survive in Canada.

The numerous winter fêtes from Christmas to Ash Wednesday also gave ample opportunity to entertain friends or met at midnight mass. In fact, toward the end of the eighteenth century, the clergy proposed to abandon midnight mass altogether, in a vain attempt to curtail the social life of their parishioners.(21) The Lenten season, of course, put an end to all partying. Abstinence from worldly amusements, attendance at all Church services, fasting, and the exclusion of meat from the table during the forty days were all unquestioned. "Il faut faire les Pâcques."

The habitants' devotion to their religion was inherited from their forebears. Early colonial policies had ensured that New France would be a Roman Catholic

country. But, it should be remembered that Jansenism was as much a part of New France(22) as Puritanism was of New England and helped mould the French- Canadian character.

The basis of Jansenism was a huge, baleful pessimism that emphasized the Fall, as well as divine grace operating in man, and it was this thinking that underlay Christianity among the settlers of New France. The two-fold nature of man meant that faith, rather than reason, was the only road to salvation and more than accounts for the emphasis on the need to be constant in the faith.(23) Little wonder that the coureurs de bois, living their free life in the woods far from the watchful eye of Mother Church, were regarded as a threat to the spiritual and moral life of the colony.

* * *

literary tradition was slow in coming. Fortuna l' in the nineteenth century, there was an intellectua élite who assumed the responsibility of ensuring that French-Canadian culture, as distinct from that of France, would survive.

> To this group belonged some of the first writers of French Canada. Some, without knowing the word "folklore" (which was coined only in 1846) tried to create a Canadian literature based on their traditions, under the influence of French romantic writers who were directing their attention for the first time toward peasant life. Moved by nationalistic ambitions, they exploited traditional themes, chiefly mores and legends rather than tales and songs.(24)

These writers, who made it possible for les Canadiens to

be aware of themselves as a people, often made use of the oral tradition to produce literary tales which will be considered in a later chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

FRENCH CANADA: A Tradition Transplanted and Transformed

> Le conte et la légende sont au nombre des premières productions de notre littérature orale. En cela nous n'avons pas dérogé à la loi commune...Nos pères n'avaient ni le temps, ni les moyens de se procurer des livres ou des journaux. Pourtant, il fallait bien satisfaire ce besoin d'histoires merveilleuses qui gît dans toutes les civilisations nouvelles...Ce peuple neuf dont les sensations n'auraient pas encore été émoussées, pouvait se contenter de peu. Ayant nécessairement emporter avec lui le souvenir des troublantes légendes et des personnages surnaturels de son pays natal, c'est dans ce fonds qu'il puisa, en modifiant le cadres et les caractères, selon les besoins ou les impressions du nouveau milieu. Les revenants, les feux-follets, les lutins, les loups-garoux et les autres mythes se canadisèrent; ils vécurent parmi nous et de notre vie; ils furent mêlés à toutes nos actions et leur ascendent devint bientot indéniable.(1)

The survival of French oral literature in Canada can be attributed to the preponderance of a conservative group f agriculturalists. Literacy was the privilege of the ew. a circumstance compounded by the habitants' disinterest in book-learning, and their concentration on the business of survival.(2) The oral tradition, however, was modified due to the homogeneity created by the mingling of peoples from different provinces; the initial lack of spiritual guidance, which permitted a recurrence of superstition; and some interchange of customs and beliefs with Amerinds.

In Canada, the stories take the form of anecdotes, which are usually classified in folklore studies as

"memorates", that is, individual experiences in conditions of universally held beliefs; and either personal reminiscences, or stories transmitted and remembered. These are reputedly "true" and differ from popular tales, which are anonymous fiction of bygone epochs. Thus, they represent a history of daily life or a chronicle that has as foundation only the collective memory of an unlettered folk; for this reason, they reflect the indigenous mentality.(3)

In speaking of the particularities of lycanthropy and its association with witchcraft and sorcery, it should be noted that the grip of superstition was not as marked among the people of New France as it was among the French peasantry.

> En Canada, nous n'avons cependant pas vécu dans un climat de superstition aussi rigoureux qu'en France ou en Nouvelle-Angleterre. Certes, la répression religieuse et civile y est parfois sévère, mais elle n'a rien de comparable, sur ce point que les habitants de Salem ou d'ailleurs ont connu, alors que les innocents sont sacrifiés à l'hystérie populaire. Chez nous, les séances de sorcellerie ont généralement des sûites moins fâcheuses. Même que leurs responsables se soustraient souvent à la vindicte royale.(4)

Of course, as Séguin mentions in his introduction, sorcery among the aboriginals often had a preventative aspect. Indians feared evil spirits and relied on their sorcerers to ward them off and assure the tribe success in battle and in the hunt. These beliefs were known to habitants either through direct contact or, indirectly, through the coureurs de bois on their visits to the St. Lawrence settlements.

The Jesuit Relations contain several references to sorcery among the aboriginals. Le Jeune's Relation (1632)(5) identifies la Nation des Sorciers, a tribe of Nipissings renowned for the number of their medicine-men. In 1633, Le Jeune again speaks of them.

> Ces sorciers, c'est ainsi que les François appellent ceste natiõ, pource qu'elle fait une particuliere profession de consulter leur Manitou, ou parler au diable. Ces sorciers, dis-ie, sont venus iusques à Kebec.(6)

Witchcraft was regarded by Indians as the cause of sickness and death. For instance, Le Jeune (1637)(7) reports that an Indian woman was put to death as a witch. She was accused one evening of visiting sickness on a man, was immediately struck to the ground by her godfather, and then taken away and burned.

When smallpox, to which the Huron had no resistance, swept through their villages in the 1630s, reducing their population by half, they believed that it was caused by the enchantments of the Jesuits, who had come to procure the total ruin of the country.

> Ces nations se persuadent qu'ils ne meurent quasi que par des sorts, c'est pourquoy nous mesuras à mesme aulne ils nous pensent & croient plus grãds sorciers qu'eux mesmes.(8)

Indeed, the Indians regarded many innocent practices as evidence of the priests' evil intent. The "Black Robes" kept the door of a mission closed in the morning; they had a peculiar habit of tying a piece of cloth to the top of a tree (as a weather-vane); they owned the "Demon of death" (a clock).(9)

The Montagnais gave the name "Manitou" to all the powers of nature superior to man. Thus, when the Jesuits spoke of God, these tribesmen sometimes called Him "the good Manitou." The Devil was "the bad Manitou". Those among the Montagnais who knew the Manitou, good or bad, the French called "Sorcerers."

> Ce n'est pas que le Diable se communique à eux si sensiblement qu'il fait aux Sorciers & aux Magiciens d'Europe: mais nous n'avons pas d'autre nom pour leur donner...(10)

Indians believed that, after various rituals, any individual could receive beneficial knowledge in dreams. The soul, detached from the body through fasting, was in a position to contact the Oïaron, a kind of "familiar" spirit. By mean of this Oïaron, dreamers could transform themselves, go where they wished, and do what they pleased. Father Lafitau(11) records a Mohawk tale that has a link with lycanthropic and soul-double elements.

A certain village was attacked by an "epidemic of death." Every night, "a bird of ill-omen" issuing screams flew over the houses. Everyone took this to be the Oïaron of a person uttering curses. The elders sought the aid of a hermit who fashioned three arrows, which he asked them to examine carefully so that they would recognize them again. The hermit went to a slope near the village and, when the bird came, he shot it with one of the arrows. The following day, there was a rumour that a certain young man who lived with his

mother was very ill. It was discovered that his side had been pierced by one the hermit's arrows. The elders, pretending to remove it, drove it into the young man's heart so that he died.

The old mother resolved to avenge her son's death, but, "in spite of her different metamorphoses" was unmasked and burned. The preceding troubles began again after her death, and the diviners concluded that she had been transformed into a whistling wren or woodchuck, which had been her familiar animal during her lifetime. When the lair was discovered, she was smoked out and killed a second time.

There is a clear reference to a loup-garou in the Jesuit Relations concerning an apostate, Estienne Pigarouich. Before his baptism, Estienne had been one of the foremost sorcerers of his tribe, but, after being converted, became very zealous in his Christian duties. However, he was later sent to Trois-Rivières, where he came into contact with his own people and was corrupted. Father Brébeuf finally sent for Estienne to tell him it was time to put a stop to his debauchery. Estienne did not seem to take the good father's homily to heart but, two days later, repented and promised to mend his ways. Unfortunately, after being sent to Sillery, Estienne was again put to the test, and, once again, succumbed. He became a wanderer and a vagrant, shunned by all. One day he met a Father Dequen, who gave him a rather cold

reception, whereupon Estienne said:

> Hé quoy, il n´y a point donc de misericorde pour moy: voulez-vous que ie courre dans les bois comme un loup-garou abandonné de Dieu & des hommes.(12)

We must assume that this is either a loup-garou belief introduced to the tribes by the hivernants, or, that this particular native adopted a French belief along with his conversion to Christianity, or, that there existed a belief among the Indians that a man forced out of the society of men became an animal. If Estienne was indeed comparing himself to a wolf, this is strange; from long observation, Indians knew that wolves were familial animals.

In the Relation of 1660-61, there is a report of the first journey made to the "Sea of the North", a journey that began at Tadoussac. The Jesuits reached a lake where they were to rendezvous with men deputed to summon the "Nations of the North Sea." However, the priests discovered that these men had met their death the previous winter in a very strange manner.

> Ces pauvres gens furent saisis d´un mal, qui nous est inconnu; mais qui n´est pas bien extraordinaire, parmy les peuples que nous cherchons; ils ne sont ny lunatiques, ny hypocondriaques, ny phrenetiques: mais ils ont un mélange de toutes ces sortes de maladies, qui leur blessant l´imagination, leur cause une faim plus que canine, & les rend si affamez de chair humaine, qu´ils se iettent sur les femmes, sur les enfants, mesme sur les hommes commes de vrais loups garous, & les devorent à belles dents, sans se pouvoir rassasier, ny saouler, cherchans toujours nouvelle proye, & plus avidement que plus ils en ont mangé. C´est la maladie dont ces deputez furent atteints: & comme la mort est l´unique remede parmy ces bonnes gens, pour

> arrester ces meurtres, ils ont esté massacrez pour arrester le cours de leur manie.(13)

Was this an extreme form of pathological lycanthropy?

In the Canadien settlements, sorcery, witchcraft, and bodily transformations were not realities. These were simply imported phenomena that local conteurs never failed to exploit. However, the following newspaper report appeared in La Gazette de Québec, the official organ of His Britannic Majesty, on July 14, 1766.

> L'on apprend de Saint-Roch, près du Cap Mauraska (Kamouraska) qu'il y a un loup-garou qui court les côtes sous la forme d'un mendiant, qui avec le talent de persuader, et en promettant ce qu'il ne peut tenir, à celui d'obtenir ce qu'il demande. On dit que cet animal, avec le secours de ses deux pieds de derrière arrive à Québec le 17 dernier et qu'il en repartit le 18 suivant dans le dessein de suivre sa mission jusqu'à Montrêal. Cette bête est, dit-on, dans son espéce, aussi dangereuse que celle qui parut l'année dernière dans le Gévauchan, c'est pourquoi qu'on exhorte le public de s'en méfier comme d'un loup ravissant.(14)

It is reasonable to suppose that a general search should have taken place to track down this monster to his lair, but no such thing happened. The populace was simply warned to be careful. And the publicity does not seem to have discouraged the loup-garou, which continued to harass the region. On December 10, 1767, the Gazette reported:

> De Kamouraska, le 2 décembre, nous apprenons qu'un certain loup-garou, qui roule en cette province depuis plusieurs années, et qui a fait beaucoup de dégats dans le district de Québec, a reçu plusiuers aussant considérables au mois d'octrobre dernier par divers animaux que l'on avait armés et déchainés contres ce monstre et notamment le 3 novembre, qu'il reçut un si furieux coup par un petit animal maigre, que l'on croyait

> etre entièrement délivré de ce fatal animal, vu qu'il a resté quelques temps retiré dans sa tanière au grand contentement du public. Mais l'on vient d'apprendre par le plus funestre des malheurs que cet animal n'est pas entièrement défait, qu'au contraire il commence a reparaître plus furieux que jamais et fait un carnage terrible partout où il frappe. Défiez-vous donc des ruses de cette magique bête, et prenez garde de tomber entre ses pattes.(15)

Many people who claimed to have seen -- or had simply heard of -- the monster passed on information to the editor. One informant must have been imaginative, because, in the same edition, this notice appeared:

> Nous avons reçu une Fable, si dépourvue de bon sens et de raison, que nous l'avons pas jugée mériter une place dans cette Gazette.(16)

(A pity that such an important folklore document was not considered worthy of preservation in print.) There may be number of reasons for these reports being published. Presumably Gévauchan is a misspelling of Gévaudan; the precise dates of the beast's movements suggest a correlation between this monster of Saint-Roch-des-Aulnais at Kamouraska and La Bête de Gévaudan (see Chapter 2). Close ties with the mother country had been severed at the time of the Conquest (1763), but news of the Gévaudan beast could have been transmitted by visitors, perhaps even by the crews of British ships anchored in the St. Lawrence. Another possibility is that an article about the Gévaudan beast was picked up from a British newspaper (by which time it would be several months out of date) and localized prior to printing in order to boost circulation. Or, the

coverage could have been prompted by tragedies -- fatal accidents -- in the region about this time. The passage "mais l'on vient d'apprendre, par le plus funestre de malheurs, que cet animal n'est pas entièrement défait" suggests that someone in Kamouraska had been wounded or killed by some wild animal, possibly a wolf. And, the death could somehow have been imputed to that scary character, Messire Loup-Garou.

Strangely, no such fatality was reported in the parish registers of Kamouraska. In fact, no deaths at all were reported during the last months of 1767.(17) Was the loup-garou simply a starving animal in search of food? Was it some criminal who, for his particular purposes, preyed on popular credulity to keep everyone indoors at night? Whatever the truth of the matter, these press reports emphasize that the customs and beliefs of former days were still sufficiently alive in eighteenth-century Québec to provide good "copy."

> Les Canadiens ont conservé ce patrimoine traditionnel presque intact jusqu'à la fin du siècle dernier. Des vieillards, encore aujourd'hui, sourient en connaisseurs quand on leur parle des mendiants jeteurs de sorts, des loups-garous, de la chasse-galerie, des feux-follets, des revenants, des feux de la Saint-Jean et des longues soirées d'hiver ou l'on s'amusait comme au temps passé.(18)

That French-Canadian oral literature has survived into the twentieth century is due, not only to the efforts of nineteenth-century Quebec writers whose work will be considered in the following chapter, but to amateur folklorists such as Honoré Beaugrand and E.-Z

Massicotte. Beaugrand met Paul Sébillot at the Universal Exposition in Paris, in 1900, and returned to Canada full of enthusiasm and plans to make a systematic collection of French-Canadian folklore. Unfortunately, he died almost immediately upon his return, and before he could begin his work.(19) Massicotte had begun collecting folklore as early as 1883 and was later associated with Marius Barbeau, who had an enormous influence on Canadian folklore scholarship. Barbeau was associated with the Journal of American Folklore for many years. His primary interest was Amerindian lore, but with the encouragement of Franz Boas, he undertook an investigation of the oral literature of the St. Lawrence Valley. And, it was through him that Luc Lacourcière, a professor at Laval University, was engaged for full-time work in folkloric studies, and who, with Barbeau and Monseigneur Félix-Antoine Savard, Dean of the Faculty of Letters at Laval, was instrumental in establishing a chair of folklore at that university. Lacourcière accepted this position in 1943 and began to organize Les Archives de Folklore in the same year. Since 1968, research interests have expanded to reflect the broader definition of folklore.

As far as francophone communities outside Quebec are concerned, the task of collecting folktales has been more difficult. The Acadians, a minority within the francophone tradition, were dispersed during the

Expulsion (1755), so that they have been unable to maintain the diversity and vitality of tradition found in Quebec. Franco-Ontarians are a decidely neglected minority. Although L'Institut de Folklore was established by l'Universite de Sudbury in 1959, with Father Germain Lemieux, S.J., as director, anglophone Ontarians show more interest in such evidence of the French presence in Ontario as the reconstructed Sainte-Marie-among the Hurons, the earliest Jesuit mission in the interior.

Manitoba métis francophones are represented in Father Lemieux's collections and in works published by the Bois-Brulés Press in Winnipeg. Professor Kay Stone, University of Winnipeg, has published a collection of folklore collected by her students.(20) However, such studies do not seem to be advancing at any pace in the Western Provinces. Consequently it has not been possible to include any Saskatchewan or Albertan francophone tales in this study, although an investigation should perhaps be undertaken before these are irrevocably lost.

An analysis of the loup-garou stories collected by folklorists, and reprinted, will serve more fully to illustrate to what extent this belief was "canadianized" in its transplantation. In this analysis, the same general classification as that applied to French tales will be preserved as far as is practical.

It should be noted, however, that while French and French-Canadian werewolf lore have many common elements,

there are significant modifications. For example, in Canada, a loup-garou has been defined as a person who, after his death, was condemned to be changed en loup-garou, for misdeeds committed during his life time. This post-mortem punishment lasted seven years, its principal cause being neglect of Easter duties or some great scandal that caused consternation in the parish (cf. Ch.3, p. 53). The loup-garou "ran the fields" at night, and anyone who met him could deliver the soul of this unfortunate by tracing a big sign of the cross on him. But the loup-garou did not allow itself to be approached easily. Besides, habitants were so afraid of the loup-garou that they "took to their heels" when they saw one.(21)

Note, too, that this definition, which seems to incorporate vampire lore, could be a direct importation of Norman loup-garou lore (cf. Ch. 3, p. 54), as well as a confusion with les flambeaux (cf. Ch. 3, p. 60).

CONDITIONS GOVERNING MAN-ANIMAL TRANSFORMATION

1. Voluntary Transformation

The closest reference to the donning of a wolf skin occurs in an anecdote from Gaspé in which the loup-garou puts on "la haire" of a dog to eat smaller dogs.(22)

Selling oneself to the Devil as a cause of transformation is cited in stories from Acadia, Ontario, and Wisconsin, although the reason is to obtain money to

till land rather than supernatural power.(23)

The only mention of an ointment being used comes from the Jesuit Relations,(24) but it is an ointment employed by Montagnais sorcerers to cause the death of an enemy. No mention is made in French-Canadian folk legends available in print of an ointment for purposes of transformation.(25)

Le Petit Albert, a book of sorcery, is mentioned in an Acadian story of "lanterns that dance" by the water.(26) These change into dogs, then go presumably in the form of men to play cards in another village. The informant in this case jumps from one part of the story to another, and the reader has to supply missing details. But, in fact, this is another version of "Le Cheval Blanc", a story collected in Gaspé, in which a man runs with a herd of horses, and whose wife, taking her life in her hands, delivers him. In the Gaspé version, transformation takes place because the man has not taken the sacraments.(279

2. Involuntary Transformation

The most common cause of involuntary transformation is failure to observe religious duties, i.e., not having confessed or partaken of the sacraments for a specified number of years(28) never attending mass(29) not observing religion in general.(30) Often, the reason is more explicitly the neglect of Easter duties.(31) In one instance, a man who refused to meet

his financial obligations to the church was refused entry by one of the wardens. The next day, the warden's horse was bothered by a colt, which, when struck with the warden's whip, turned into the recalcitrant parishioner.(32)

In other legends, the transformation is caused by a spell, sometimes cast by God because the person has not gone to confession(33) (cf. Ch.3, p. 52-3), or cast by a sorcerer.(34)

Yet another is a soul in penitence here on earth, although no specific sin is mentioned.(35)

In a story from Manitoba, "La Robe Rouge", it is hinted that the loup-garou had been "wild" in his youth and that his metamorphosis was his punishment.(36) In other stories no cause is given.

Sometimes a loup-garou is said to be possessed by demons(37) (cf. Ch. 3, p. 53), although there is no reference to its being passed on to another person.

An interesting modification comes from Beauce (Que.), where someone was charged with punishing a man who did not go to mass by making him see a loup-garou. (cf. Ch. 3, p. 60) Evidently a man, disguised as an animal, went to hide at a place where a person in need of correction had to pass. But the latter, on seeing the fake loup-garou, and wanting to imitate those who delivered these beasts, attacked his neighbour with a knife. The neighbour had a hard time making his

attacker see reason.(38)

A similar story comes from Jogues, Ont., about a man who opened his house every Sunday for dancing, card playing and lotteries. The priest had often denounced the man from the pulpit. But hardly anyone ever went to church in this parish, so the priest's warnings went unheeded. One fine Sunday evening, the householder was rocking himself near a window, emptying his glass, while his friends, quite drunk, sang and danced. Suddenly, an ox appeared outside and began licking the window sill. The man was annoyed, but at first didn't bother to do anything about it. The ox would wander away, then return. Finally, the householder became irritated and, picking up an awl, pierced the ox's tongue. Blood spurted, a dreadful scream was heard, and a man appeared. There was great agitation among the guests, and someone ran for the priest. From that time on, the householder banned dancing in his house on Sundays.(39)

Barbeau states that, in Canada, the loup-garou was always a man, but Lemieux collected one story of a woman who sold her soul to the Devil and became a mare.(40)

The duration of possession is not always specified, but it usually varies between seven and twelve years, unless the loup-garou can be delivered.

DELIVERANCE

As in France, the most common method of delivering a loup-garou was to give it a light blow that drew

blood.(41)

Some Canadien versions state that the blow must be made on the forehead;(42) one collected by Barbeau specified the baptismal mark;(43) and according to Morin, the wound must be made in the mark of a cross on the only vulnerable spot, the place on the forehead where the baptismal water ran.(44)

In "Le Cheval Blanc", the loup-garou instructs his potential deliverer to inflict the wound with a pitchfork made to very exact specifications(45) (cf. Vannes, Ch. 3, p. 55). But it seems that any sharp object -- a knife, an axe, a bunch of keys sufficed.

In Beauce (Que.) it is said that, in striking the beast, the deliverer must not let go of the knife, or hold it by the blade, because in such instances, the loup-garou would revenge itself by killing its benefactor. When the loup-garou was an ox, it had to be hit on the white patch between the eyes. Another informant said that if one did not strike the loup-garou on the head, it would split in two, and the deliverer would be faced with two loups-garous.(46)

Religious exorcism was another method of delivery, or perhaps ensuring that the demon was driven out.(47)

The loup-garou was not always delivered,(48) and in one legend an attempt to deliver the loup-garou ends in its death.(49)

Occasionally, the delivered loup-garou appears naked,(50) particularly in Beauce (Que.). Dupont

dismisses this as "un détail cocasse", but in fact, it is an element with a very long history (cf. Ch.1, p. 18; 21 ; 22. Ch. 2, p. 36.).

There are stories that do not mention deliverance at all,(51) but, in those that do, the deliverer is often sworn to silence regarding the identity of the loup-garou.(52)

Morin reports the French belief that a loup-garou was impervious to bullets -- unless they were blessed -- as part of the Canadian tradition. In Canada, rosary beads fired like grape-shot could be substituted. However, in either case, the one doing the shooting had to have a four-leafed clover on his person(53) (cf. Ch. 3, pp.56-7). Among Wisconsin mixed-bloods, shooting was believed to be an effective method of delivering a roup-garou.(54)

In many accounts, the loup-garou is deliberately looking for a deliverer,(55) and is usually grateful, or at least does no harm. Often, the deliverer recognizes the loup-garou. Thus, wives deliver husbands,(56) mothers deliver sons,(57) sons deliver fathers.(58)

Beauce (Que.) has a belief according to which the highway cross serves as a place of penitence for delivered loups-garous(59) (cf. Ch. 3, p. 57).

ASSOCIATED SUPERNATURAL BEINGS AND ANIMALS AND THEIR BEHAVIOUR

In most parts of Canada, little differentiation

apears to have been made between loups-garous and feux-follets. True enough, Roy defines a feu-follet as the soul of a dead person wandering on earth and looking for prayers that his heirs have forgotten, or refused, to offer for him(60) (cf. Ch. 3, p. 60). And Barbeau recounts a story in which the feu-follet is a soul sent to earth by God to do penitence.(61) But often, the feu-follet seems to be the soul-double of a living person.

Barbeau's collection contains two legends that illustrate this common confusion. "Le petit feu qui voltige"(62) is about a living man "qui court le loup-garou en feu-follet." Dupont also recounts this story from Beauce (Que.),(63) and Jolicoeur reports an almost identical story from Acadia.(64) In these versions, the person lies down on the ground and a light issues from his mouth. An observer turns the body on its face so that, when the light returns, it cannot reenter. It flickers, and begins to fade. The supine body is then turned on its back, the light goes back into the mouth, and when the person recovers consciousness, he tells the observer that he almost died.

Dupont collected the following anecdote, yet another version of the same story, but which seems to confuse a number of elements:

> Ils l'ont suivi de loin, puis ils l'ont vu se coucher sur le labour...Le voisin a tourné le corps face à terre...Il est allé faire le loup-garou sur la barque, le bac qui traversait sur la

> Chaudière; puis là, ils ont sorti un couteau, puis ils l'ont saigné. Il a disparu, il est parti pour retourner prendre son corps. Mais comme le corps était tourné de bord, il est mort.(65)

In Lemieux's story "Deux hommes devenus loups garous", men's bodies stay on the ground while lights that have left their bodies go off into the forest, and then return.(66)

In the second Barbeau story, feux-follets are "des loups-garous en esprit."(67)

Jolicoeur reports another legend from Acadia in which a man sold his soul to the Devil and became feu-follet.(68) In another Acadian story, a man changes into a feu-follet "so as not to be recognized."(69) An old belief from this area is that there are feux-sorciers -- sorcerers who read "les livres d'Albert" to become feux-follets.(70)

Québec Beaucerons believe that a feu-follet (or fi-follet) can be delivered by piercing it with a knife, and say that if a half-opened knife is left on the "pagée" of a fence, the fi-follet will pass through it. On some mornings, they claim there is a lot of blood on the "pagée."(71) Generally, the people of Beauce say that a fi-follet is a malicious spirit, or a metamorphosed person waiting to be delivered.(72)

Dupont reports a belief that if a Catholic is in a Protestant cemetery and can take possession of a Protestant soul from a feu-follet, he can obtain anything he desires from the presumed heretic. There

may be some Irish influence here.(73)

One of Lemieux's informants said that loups-garous were nothing more than wolves who roamed the forest, spitting fire at anyone they encountered (cf. Ch. 3, pp. 58; 61). In the next breath, however, the informant said that loups-garous strangely resemble beasts because they move around on four feet. They have amazing strength. They also search out people. It is difficult to struggle against them; they defend themselves with fire. The old believed that it was a question of the Devil roaming on earth...If the loup-garou is far away from the person, he can save himself. But, if it approaches him, he must stab it with a knife. Then it will never be seen again. The loup-garou tries not to touch the knife, but feux-follets will always touch it.(74) The man who told this was an octagenarian, which may account for the rambling nature of his information. On the other hand, he had learned of these phenomena in his childhood, so perhaps he was confusing half-remembered fragments.

A black hen is spoken of as being given to the Devil as surety in a pact.(75)

In France, transformations were sometimes into domestic animals (cf. Ch. 3, pp. 50-52), and there were domestic, but supernatural, animals associated with the loup-garou (cf. Ch. 3, pp. 58-60). Canadian loups-garous usually take the form of domestic animals: oxen,

calves, cows, horses, dogs, pigs, cats.(76) Wolves are not specified in any of the legends in print, which is peculiar in a country in which these animals still exist (unless the early settlers were influenced by Amerindian attitudes). The most terrifying aspect of lycanthropy is, that the loup-garou is unlike any other legendary, supernatural being. He is not usually one of the undead who preys on the living, although, as has been seen, this connection does exist. He is a human being, who, during the day lives a normal life among other human beings. Only at night does he roam in a changed shape. His metamorphosis is not gradual; it is sudden. In close-knit rural communities, where friends and neighbours are a necessity, the lurking fear that such a person might be a loup-garou must have constituted a very real threat. That most shape-shifts in the stories that have survived were under the form of domestic animals, may also be attributed to the fact that these animals play an essential role in rural life. That the range of animals involved in French Canada is greater than that in France is perhaps due to the mingling of a number of French regional traditions.

Lemieux, however, does have an account in which the loup-garou was able to take all kinds of shapes, even that of a snake.(77) Both Jolicoeur and Dorson report bear transformations,(78) and one of Barbeau's anecdotes has the metamorphosis simply into a "beast."(79) In many legends the "monster" is not

identified, and Canadian lore has "inanimate" loups-garous: a bag of wool;(80) a spool of wool;(81) a fur muff;(82) and an oak tree that moves down the middle of the road and will not give way.(83) One can only assume that these are based on events, with perfectly plausible explanations, which fired creative imaginations.

There is considerable variation in the habits of French-Canadian loups-garous. "Le loup-garou de cimetière" may possibly be a Norman survival since its habit of digging up the dead to eat them suggests vampire characteristics.(84) (Cf. Normandy, Ch. 3, p. 54) Another takes the form of a large dog that eats smaller dogs.(85) In two stories, the loup-garou intends to eat his wife, one of the possessed being in the form of a "beast",(86) the other in the shape of a horse.(87) But, in other tellings, the loup-garou is not really dangerous: an ox that merely digs up scrub and then flattens the tussocks.(88) In Beauce, loups-garous only frighten passers-by;(89) elsewhere, they simply frighten horses.(90)

An Acadian story of "L'Ours garou" is particularly interesting because it is a transformation into a wild animal, and because, when the garou is shot and turns back into a man, the paw that was wounded remains a bear paw.(91) Dorson also collected a story in Wisconsin in which a man transformed into a pig was kicked in the neck and was seen thereafter with his throat

bandaged.(92)

Another legend that Dorson collected among Wisconsin mixed-bloods has a direct link with Father Lafitau's Mohawk story of the Oïaron(93) (cf. pp. 82-3 of this chapter) It involves an old woman named Sarah who was constantly sick; every time she became ill, a big ghibou (owl) was seen perching on her clothes line. A neighbour shot the bird, looked for it to salvage the feathers, but no owl was to be found. However, he saw another old woman, Mrs. Lozon, lamed and trying to crawl up the hill to her home. She had been perfectly well the day before, but shortly after this event she died, and Sarah recovered.

In some areas loup-garou lore has assumed a jocular character. Lemieux records that young people in St. Boniface, Man., used to camp in the local barns after a party rather than, being late, face their parents' wrath.(94) The parents, weary of their children staying out at night, devised a "machine" made out of a jack-o'-lantern mounted on a pole with discs at the top which, when vibrated, produced a horrible groan. Imagine the consternation when, early one morning, as the "night owls" were settling down to sleep, a veritable parade of loups-garous and feux-follets arrived to knock on the windows of the barn.

The people of the Beauce are noted for their humour, which is amply illustrated in "La Vache Démorphosée" (also told in Ontario and Lavalois

(Que.)).(95) A poor farmer was walking along the road leading his cow at the end of a rope. It was a very hot day, and there were lots of flies. Everytime the cow shook its head to get rid of these pests, the farmer would flick a long thin stick over his shoulder, without turning his head. Two men were following the farmer, and one bet the other that he could steal the cow without the farmer's knowing. One of them took the cow's place, and pulled on the rope to imitate the cow's movement. The farmer flicked the switch, and the thief cried out that he had been "delivered." The farmer took the "loup-garou" home to show to his wife, who was so overjoyed at this salvation that she thanked the trickster for all the fine milk and calves "he" had produced. To show her gratitude, she gave the thief "his" latest progeny.

Dupont also collected the story of a young man who was courting a girl in the neighbouring parish. His friends wanted to play a trick on him, so they put a calf in a bag, which they then placed in the swain's cart. As the young man was returning from his tryst, every time his cart went over a bump, the calf would bawl. The young fellow stood up and whipped his horse to a gallop. On arriving home, he rushed into his father's house, forcing the latch. "What's up with you?" his father asked. His son replied, "For sure, the Devil's in my cart."(96)

The same stories, with variations, occur in quite widely separated areas, which supports the theory that the legends were disseminated as people left the valley of the St. Lawrence to settle new areas, or to emigrate to other parts of Canada and the United States as population increased and the arable land available became scarce.

* * *

In contrast to Barbeau's informants of the early twentieth century, many of the informants in the past two decades who contributed lore are somewhat sceptical about their accounts. It appears that education, books, newspapers, radio, and television have taken their inevitable toll in Canada as they have in France. Only the old people remember the legends, many of which they heard in their youth. These echoes of the past grow fainter. A tradition is dying.

CHAPTER SIX

THE MODERN AFTERMATH

In his discussion of the imagination in the Spectator (1711), Addison ranked superstition with nature as a quickener of the imagination. He called attention to the fact that man's mind is naturally subject to terrors and apprehensions which might give rise to a literature wherein the author, by appealing to the imagination of the reader, would introduce characters and actions having little or no counterpart in reality, but only the existence he might bestow on them. The matter of this new kind of writing lay in "legends and fables, antiquated romances, and the traditions of old nurses and women."(1) In other words, in popular tradition, and witches, sorcerers, demons, and spectres were the proper characters to animate it.

This peculiar advocacy of superstition, which was to bear fruit as the source of aesthetic effect some fifty years later, marked a return to the Middle Ages, during which a belief in the supernatural pervaded life and literature. The constitution of such a genre depended on three simultaneous conditions: special feelings originating outside the usual range of human emotional and psychological experience; a special type of imagination capable of exciting these feelings; and a special form that enabled the writer to present these feelings in all their integrity. The pre-romanticism of

the eighteenth century, and the romanticism of the nineteenth century saw the flowering of this new form in tales of wonder and terror.

As to the first condition, these tales make their appeal to very special feelings. Scientific progress has inevitably narrowed the boundaries of man's credulity, but to those aware of the supernatural beings who have always peopled folk imagination, these tales have the power to bring to life a realization of the powers with which man's life has always been in contention. As R. D. Jameson has said, "...the data of folklore are immediate and potent evidence of the nature of man when man is defining his fears and aspirations and searching for a security which always eludes him".(2)

As for the second, Addison stated that for a writer to succeed in tales of the supernatural, he must have a "particular cast of fancy, and an imagination naturally fruitful and superstitious."(3) What Addison was advocating has been defined by Louis Vax as fantastic literature, a literature that develops:

> ...un certain sujet d'une certaine manière, parce que c'est une histoire de sorcier, vampire ou loup-garou, un récit destiné à donner au lecteur un frisson particulier, une angoisse délicieuse.(4)

Pierre George Castex stipulates that:

> Le fantastique, en effet, ne se confond pas avec l'affubulation conventionnelle des récits mythologiques ou des féeries, qui implique un dépayesment de l'esprit. Il se caractérise au contraire par une intrusion brutale du mystère

dans le cadre de la vie réelle.(5)

For Tzvetan Todorov, the indispensable characteristic is that "the fantastic is based essentially on a hesitation of the reader -- a reader who identifies with the chief character -- as to the nature of an uncanny event.(6)

According to Eric S. Rabkin:

> The ability of art to create its own interior set of ground rules is fundamental to the aesthetic experience...Every work of art sets up its own ground rules. The perspectives that the fantastic contradicts are perspectives legitimized by these internal ground rules.(7)

> Although the dictionary may define the fantastic as "not real or based on reality", the fantastic is important because it is wholly dependent on reality for its existence. Admittedly the fantastic is reality turned precisely 180 around, but this is reality nonetheless, a fantastic reality that speaks the truth of human hearts.(8)

This chapter will consider literature from France and French Canada inspired by the loup-garou tradition.

Le Meneur de Loups (1857) by Alexandre Dumas is a long, very sentimental story of a poor clog-maker from Lorraine, Thibault, who makes a pact with a Satanic agent, a black wolf.(9) Thibault, made ambitious by a little education, has found all avenues to advancement blocked, so he seizes the opportunity of fulfilling his desire for wealth, power, and success in love, and agrees to the pact which is that the Devil will claim part of him, one hair of his head, every time one of his wishes hurts another person. Gradually Thibault's hair turns from black to flaming red as his soul is

stained with the blood of his victims.

Thibault becomes the leader of the wolf pack that protects him from his enemies and wreaks vengeance on those who thwart his desires. But, Thibault loses Agnelette, the only woman he truly loves, to a man who is prepared to accept the responsibility of the welfare of her blind grandmother. Despite his pleas, Agnelette will not surrender her honour, and when her husband dies through Thibault's machinations, Agnelette dies shortly thereafter, praying for Thibault's salvation.

In a last attempt to gain the riches that always seem to elude him, Thibault agrees to take the black wolf's place. His metamporphosis occurs on the anniversary of the pact, but it is also the one day in the year on which the black wolf is vulnerable to attack. After being chased by hunters all day, Thibault at last comes to the cemetery where Agnelette is being interred. He prays to God for death. The hunters find only a blood-stained wolf skin, and Thibault is never seen again. But, every year on the same day, a poor monk from a nearby monastery comes to pray at the grave of Agnelette.

This story, which incorporates elements of lycanthropy and its corollary le meneur de loups, was based on a legend that Dumas had heard during his childhood. He introduces a "foreign" motif, however, a magic ring by which Agnelette recognizes Thibault's

possession, thus saving his heroine from the trauma of being married to a loup-garou.

Erckman-Chartrian's Hughes-le-loup (1859) is the story of the family of Nideck, upon whom a curse has been visited.(10) The present Count is gripped once a year by an illness that coincides with the arrival of an old woman, la Peste Noire, in the neighbourhood. Like Dumas's tale, the lycanthropic element is too slight to carry a tale of this length, and the authors fill in the gap with a great deal of repetious, often extraneous, detail.

The young hero, a doctor, is brought by a faithful retainer to the castle, where he observes the bizarre behaviour of his host and the distress of the count's beautiful daughter, Odile. On a visit to the castle's archives, the hero discovers three portraits: that of Hughes-le-loup, the count's ancestor; that of his first wife Edwige, who had died childless, but to whom Odile bears an uncanny resemblance; and that of Hughes' second wife, Huldine, the mother of three children. One night, the doctor observes a rendezvous between the Count, dressed in a wolf skin, and la Peste Noire, in which they appear to carry a body dressed in a shroud. It eventuates that Hughes and Huldine had murdured Edwige in the year 837 A.D., one thousand years ago, and that la Peste Noire is a descendant of Huldine's daughter. Each year she, and the count, re-enact the murder of Edwige. This year, la Peste Noire

dies, and the Count is freed of the curse through the agency of Odile -- the angel who brings comfort and release.

Throughout the story, the metamorphosis of Count Nideck is hinted at. When the doctor first meets the Count he is struck by the latter´s resemblance to "un vieux loup".(11) On another occasion, a conversation between the doctor and the old gamekeeper, Sperver, is interrupted by the howling of a wolf, and, tracking the sound, they discover the Count crouched on his bed uttering "le cri lugubre...la face, le cri, l´attitude, tout...révélait la bête fauve cachée sous le masque humain".(12) A sense of horror is communicated by this ambiguity; by the suggestion of "the sins of the fathers" -- the bestial natures of Hughes and Huldine-- being visited on the Count; by the anguish of the victim of lycanthropy.

Prosper Mérimée´s Lokis (1868) takes the form of a manuscript of a Professor Wittembach who, while researching the Lithuanian language, visits Count Michel Sziémoth.(13) Upon arrival, the professor is greeted by the sight of the count´s mother. Shortly after her marriage, she had been carried off by a bear, and nine month´s later, had given birth to Michel. Driven mad by her ordeal she had tried to kill the child, and had been kept under guard ever since.

The professor is introduced to a young woman,

Iwinska, who later becomes Michel's wife. On the day of the wedding, the old Countess escapes again and screams that the bride is being carried off by a bear. Nevertheless, the marriage takes place amidst great rejoicing. The next morning, however, the bride is discovered with her throat torn out, and the groom has vanished.

The title Lokis is explained by the professor as the Lithuanian name for a bear, and Michel as being the name given to the bear damp Brun in Le Roman de Renard. Naturally, the reader has to wonder who, or what, fathered Michel.

In Le Loup (1884) Maupassant exploits the psychological implications of men more savage than beasts.(14) The brothers Jean and François d'Arville were passionate hunters who went off in search of a wolf that had been ravaging the countryside. In the course of the hunt, Jean was killed, and François placed the body across his saddle to return home. But, on the way, he sensed the presence of the wolf, and his fear turned to rage at the sight of his dead brother. François gave chase, and met the wolf. But first, he sat Jean against a rock so that he could view the final battle in which François strangled the wolf with his bare hands.

The narrator, a descendant of Jean, reports that ever since, no one in his family has hunted. An ironic note is introduced in the comment of one of the women

present who says, "C'est égal, c'est beau d'avoir des passions pareilles."(15)

Thus, these writers exploit passions in man that put him outside the laws of God, nature, and society -- traits that the wolf has long symbolized.

As Lacourcière stated, French-Canadian ninteenth-century writers took their lead from French Romantic writers to create a literature based on their folk traditions.(16) Two of the foremost were Philippe Aubert de Gaspé, fils, and Joseph-Charles Taché. In 1837, the former published L'Influence d'un Livre(17), the first Canadian novel written in French. While this work does not make use of the loup-garou tradition, it does exploit the popular belief in sorcery, and in the course of Charles Amand's alchemical research, in which he uses Les Livres d'Albert, introduces the character of Mareuil, who has a taste for human blood. Gaspé's father's later work, Les Anciens Canadiens (1863) discloses many of the traditions and the way of life of the habitants and coureurs de bois.(18)

J.-C. Taché's Forestiers et Voyageurs (1884) depicts the life and legends of the lumbermen.(19) One of these is "Le Noyeux." The narrator is Old Man Michel, a retired forester and trapper who had left Quebec for the pays d'en haut.(20)

One night, a group of voyageurs(21) camped at

the Sault-au-Récollet. This was the place where a missionary and a young companion had been attacked by Hurons and drowned. The night was very dark; "il faisait noir comme le loup."(22) The men saw the light of another fire some way off and, thinking it was another group like themselves, three of them decided to pay a visit.

Making their way to the spot, they were surprised to see an Indian crouching by the fire, his elbows on his knees and his head in his hands. He didn't move as the voyageurs approached. When they reached him, they were amazed to find that the man was dripping wet, but even more astonished when they realized that the water dripping from his body did not even dampen the sand on which he sat.

One of the voyageurs, bolder than the rest, went right up to the fire. It gave no heat! A piece of bark thrown into the flames remained intact. He knew that no one would believe these things without evidence, so, it was decided that they should take a brand from this diabolical fire that gave light but no warmth back to the camp.

The brand was passed from hand to hand as the experience was related but, suddenly, there was a noise like a chasse-galerie(23) or a sacakoua.(24) At the same time, an enormous black cat bounded three times around the voyageurs, screaming horribly. It jumped on their upturned canoe and gouged the bark with

its claws. The voyageurs were terrified lest the monstrous animal tear the canoe to pieces.

Their Indian guide grabbed the brand from whomever was holding it and threw the brand at the cat, which seized it in its jaws, spat fire from its eyes, and vanished.

The Indian was seen again, many times, sometimes on one of the river's banks, sometimes on one of the neighbouring islands. He was the one who had drowned the Récollet father, and the Devil had taken hold of him as he emerged from the water. He and his fire had been changed into "loups-garous."

This story is based upon an actual historical fact documented in the Jesuit Relations.(25) In 1625, Father Nicolas Viel, travelling with a young neophyte, was attacked and drowned by three Hurons. The event was unusual because the French enjoyed very good relations with the Huron, but obviously the story was incorporated into the body of legends associated with the pays d'en haut and enlarges the concept of the loup-garou considerably.

The exceptional -- and for Canada atypical -- consciousness of French-Canadian writers and scholars who recorded the tales and legends of their people has preserved the rich store of folklore imported by the original settlers.

In the nineteenth century, the science of

folklore was in its infancy, but French Canada was fortunate to have Edouard-Zoatique Massicotte who was responsible for reissuing a number of literary versions of folktales originally published in periodicals, including several stories of the loup-garou which represent a variety of versions of the tradition. One of them, "Le feu de Roussi" by Faucher de Saint Maurice(26) is an extract from a longer work, A la Bruyante (1874). This story is really part of the feu-follet tradition, but it merits mention because the narrator, while recounting the story to a group of habitants at a veillée, introduces many folkloric elements conserved within the French-Canadian loup-garou tradition. At any rate, it was thought that the protagonist, Roussi, certainly deserved to become a loup-garou because he had not "fait ses pâcques" for six years and eleven months.

According to Angélique Dessaint, one of the guests, those who are condemned "de courir des clos" can take the form of a cat, a bear, a dog, a horse, an ox, or a toad, depending on what evil spirit enters the body. Angélique has a black hen that is making her life miserable. It will not roost with the other hens, seldom cackles, and will not lay for all the good wheat le bonhomme Pierriche harvests on Sundays. Sometimes, Angélique feels like "bleeding" it because, for sure, something shady is going on.

But the real subject is the strong, handsome

youth, Cyprien Roussi who took delight in scandalizing the villagers with his public drunkenness. Cyprien is saved by the love of a good woman, who makes him promise that he will never drink again. However, she dies. And, while on a fishing expedition in the Baie des Chaleurs with a friend of his wilder days, Cyprien, half-drowned and freezing, takes a deep draught of rum. His boat is swamped, and the body is never found. Ever since, bad weather is signalled in these parts by a blue light -- sometimes as small as a flame, sometimes as big as a fire -- running around the bay. When a traveller reaches the spot where he thought he saw the light, it vanishes, only to reappear when he moves off. Local fisherman believe that the light marks the spot where Cyprien was drowned and that it is asking for prayers for those who die at sea. It is known as "le feu des Roussi."(27)

The wilderness descendants of the coureurs de bois were the voyageurs, and the nineteenth-century shantymen, who wintered in the lumber camps. Many of the tales told in recent times are reputed to have taken place in the forests. One such is a narrative written by Benjamin Sulte.(28) The story concerns some strange happenings at a lumber camp where, it was supposed, the Devil, in human form, was running in the woods.

Big Pothier had gone to the spring for water.

He hadn´t gone fifty feet when he came running back like a man pursued, swearing that he had been hit on the head. Sure enough, there was a graze on his neck near the ear, and he´d lost his hat. Several of his workmates had gone to the scene, including the cook, who was trailing the others. Suddenly, he was blinded by something that hit him in both eyes and grabbed his hair, and his hat disappeared. Since then, there had been four similar occurrences.

No one could explain these mysterious events, but most of the lumbermen thought that they were being haunted by the spirit of an ox-cart driver who had died in the region several years earlier abjuring God. The men were so terrified that they had decided to leave the camp even though it was only early January, and they would all lose a great deal of money.

The narrator, Charles, persuades them to stay at least until he can find out what is going on, but it is the foreman, Olivier Lachance who solves the mystery. Olivier sends Pierriche, the young cook´s helper to the spring, while he follows behind. For ten minutes after they leave, no one says a word. The silence is broken by Pierriche´s shriek and Lachance´s booming laughter. The mystery was solved: Lachance had seen the devil!

The next day the men were back working in the woods. Lachance, Pierriche, and Charles stayed in camp. Around eight o´ clock, Lachance put on his snowshoes

and, hatchet in hand, went from tree to tree, striking the trunks with the back of the blade. At the fifth tree, he let out a whoop.

In the fork of the tree sat a huge creature whose big eyes and scowling mien revealed a scarcely-contained ill-humour. It was a large grey owl! Lachance shot the bird, which looked to be enormously strong and with an incredible wing span. The tree is cut down, and all the caps are found.

Although this story ends with a rational explanation, it is especially interesting in view of the Lafitau account(29) and Dorson's ghibou tale.(30) Although the "bird of ill-omen" is not named in the Indian story, it could have been an owl, in which case, elements of the aboriginal legend may have crept into French lore. It is also reminiscent of Barbeau's anecdote "Les loups-garous des Rapides-des-Diables"(31) which raises the question as to whether Sulte's tale is based on a local legend, or whether the legend is a result of the literary tale.

"L'Histoire de Lanouet"(32) is unusual because it was composed in verse by Pierre-J.-O. Chauveau, a lawyer and politician in nineteenth-century Quebec. His story is about two trappers in Labrador, Ladébauche and Lanouet, who, despite the snow and the wind, and les froids du loup, took turns to visit one another two or three times a year.

Returning home after one such occasion, Ladébauche meets a stranger with an angelic face who tells him to retrace his steps because Lanouet is in great danger. Ladébauche thinks that Lanouet might be in danger of being robbed of a treasure of which he had often boasted.

Suddenly, in the dark sky over the pines, Ladébauche sees a white light in the form of an angel or a woman, For a moment, he thinks it is the aurora borealis, which the Montagnais say are the souls of their valiant chiefs reliving their hunts and battles, but the sky was dark. Ladébauche is afraid, and his dogs, howling across the flat plain, rebel at the whip. Upon reaching his friend's cabin, Ladébauche fires his rifle, then, taking his courage in both hands, bangs on the door of Lanouet's cabin. There is no answer. Pushing open the door, he sees, in the shadows at the foot of the bed, a hideous animal with great shining eyes. Ladébauche makes a big sign of the cross. The animal vanishes in a cloud of foul-smelling smoke, and in the light of a hastily lit candle, Ladébauche discovers Lanouet, dead. He looks serene, almost triumphant, and there is no trace of any wound. Everything is in its place in the cabin, and there is no hole where the loup-garou could have entered.

Soon, Old Man Duchesneau, a saintly man, wise as a priest, comes to the cabin with the story of a dream that had troubled his wife. She had sent her husband

to Lanouet´s, armed with a blessed twig, and a bottle of Holy Water, but Duchesneau had arrived too late. The dead man is duly committed to the ground, and the cabin cleansed with prayers and the Holy Water. Duchesneau warns Ladébauche that the two of them are in danger because the place is haunted by an evil spirit that took the form of a loup cervier, but the story of the heavenly vision that Ladébauche had seen puts Duchesneau´s mind at rest.

The two men search Lanouet´s cabin and find a trunk full of gold coins, Portuguese piastres, and Spanish doubloons amounting to three thousand francs. The old man takes the money to give it to Lanouet´s heir, his nephew Jean Touchette, and Lanouet´s rifles and pelts to sell at Quebec, promising to send Ladébauche news on his return.

The following autumn, the old man and Touchette visit Ladébauche, bringing strange news. A letter had arrived from Brittany, from a priest who had exorcised a boy pursued by a cruel and dangerous demon that gave him no rest. The demon was quiet for about a week, but then it returned and said that it had come from Lanouet of Labrador.

The beast that Ladébauche had seen was the demon, and the bright light in the sky was the Virgin. Duchesneau advises Ladébauche to think often of Mary. She had saved Lanouet, and she always took care of

those who prayed to her. Ladébauche conducts his guests to their boat. Later, he hears the end of this strange tale. The day was fine, but hardly had they set sail than the north wind blew up. The two travellers heard cries like that of a wild cat, mixed with claps of thunder. For three days and more they were tossed about, but finally they reached the site of Lanouet's cabin. It had been burned to the ground, and they found nothing but smoking embers. The devil had taken his revenge.

While the reason for Lanouet's unhappy end is not explicitly stated, the trunk filled with coins suggests a pact with the devil.

One last tale from Massicotte's collection almost has the flavour of a "tall tale." The author, Louvigny de Montigny, was a Montreal journalist who was particularly interested in adding local colour to his stories. "Une histoire de Loup Garou"(33) has, as narrator the hunter Jos. Noël. This garrulous character was a man who "recreated" his stories every time he told them. Those attached to the land called him "un métis", which suggests that he had part Indian blood.

Noël had been hired as guide to a party of hunters, whom he regaled with his storytelling every night around the campfire. One night he seemed uneasy and demanded that a different camp-site be found because the place chosen was well known as a place where loup-garous ran. Of course, this statement

occasioned the telling of an adventure that still made Jos. Noël's blood run cold.

It was at the end of February. Jos. had just shot a bear for a "big bug" in Bytown (Ottawa) and was making his way home on snowshoes. The weather worsened, and it started to snow, which soon turned to rain. Jos. knew that it was Mardi Gras which meant that there would be "du fun" in the village, with plenty to drink. But, since he was half dead with weariness, he decided to spend the night in an old "<u>chanquier</u>" that had been abandoned the previous spring.

Several hours later, he was awakened by the growling of his dog. Jos. could hear something moving outside the shanty; he could hear the empty barrels left by the raftsmen rolling about as if someone was knocking them over. It was as black as pitch outside, and Jos. had no light. He thought it was funny that a bear should have left its den at this time of year, but maybe the animal thought it was spring because of the rain. Jos., still seated on his bed, loaded his rifle and thought that if this <u>vingueux</u> came too close, j'y vrillerais un pruneau qui y ferait changer les idées" (p. 269).

The cabin door was askew on its hinges, and the bear, or whatever it was , was by now inside, because Jos. could hear the floor creaking as if an animal "se

s´rait promen{ su´ l´side walk" (p. 269).

Then Jos. noticed that his dog, "lui qu´i´ aurait pas kické d´s´engueuler avec un crocodile enragé" (p.269), was hiding under the bed, trembling like a leaf. Suddenly, Jos. found himself face to face with a pair of eyes like flames that seemed to be two holes burned in a blanket. The animal growled, then laughed, then howled, then rolled on its back, then started to swing back and forth. And then turned somersaults "comme un soulaud qi timbe dans son jack" (p. 270).

Jos. took his rifle, aimed it right at the animal´s eyes. The rifle misfired, and Jos. knew that it was bewitched. Jos. waited until the animal was almost upon him, and fired again.

"Et, mes vieux, c´coup-là partit en faisant un éclair qi m´fit voir une bête effrayante avec un corps d´ours, une grand queue et haut su pattes comme un veau" (p. 270).

Plunged once more into darkness, Jos. stood there, helpless. He heard a voice calling his name, a voice that he recognized as that of Ti-Toine Tourteau. Now he was really scared. He would rather have faced a gang of furious tiger cats than come face to face with that scoundrel, "c´t´étripeur d´poules noires, c´te chasseur de galeries" (p.271). There were no churches in the woods, and people didn´t always have time "d´faire ses dévotions all right" (p. 271), but that scoundrel scandalized everybody, and no chrétien wanted

to talk to Ti-Toine without having some holy medals in his pocket. Ti-Toine was a sorcerer "qui méritait d´être cruxifié su´ un poteau de télégraphe" (p. 271).

"Tu m´as tué, Jos. Noël, tu m´as tué, mon Dieu, mon Dieu. Pardon..." (p.271).

Jos. heard a sound like grease boiling. He tried to light a match, but the wood broke as he struck it against the wall. Icy fingers grabbed his wrist, and his hand was placed in something sticky, like blood.

"Tu m´as tué, tu m´as tué...Fallait inque m´égratigner...une goutte de sang" (p. 272).

Jos. remembered all he had heard about loups-garous. The next day was Ash Wednesday. Tourteau had not observed his Easter devotions for seven years and he had been running as a loup-garou from the hour of the eighth Lent.

Poor Jos. Noël was found at the door of the shanty by a Tanascon Indian, who still boasted that he had saved Jos.´s life, even though he stole Jos.´s catch. As for Ti-Toine...he was never seen again.

De Montigny used dialect to give local colour and authenticity, possibly to heighten the effect of a tale told at the camp fire on a dark night in the forest. This story differs from other literary tales in that it is told simply, without any romantic embellishment. Other French-Canadian writers of the period used

expressions indigenous to Quebec, but rarely, because they were, after all, trying to make the legends accessible to others than the Qu{b{cois.

Louis Fréchette was originally a lawyer and politician who later devoted himself entirely to literature. His story Le Loup Garou , the story of Joachim Crête the miller, has been published both in French and English.(34)

Joachim was not wicked; he observed Lent and Fridays, but he jeered at collections for charity and did not curb the excesses of his hired man, Hubert Sauragean, largely because Hubert played a good game of checkers.

One Christmas Eve, the two men were together as usual, drinking and enjoying a game. Neighbours on their way to church begged them to come along, but the cronies refused and, to show their defiance, set the mill rolling. At the last stroke of the church bell, the mill stopped working, and when the men went to investigate, Hubert fell down the stairs. Joachim left him there and returned to his bottle, but suddenly heard a deep moaning. Turning round, he saw a dog as big as a man sitting on its haunches, staring at him with savage eyes. Just as the dog was about to pounce, Joachim heard the bell for the Elevation of the Host. As he fell to his knees, begging God for forgiveness, a reaping hook fell off the wall. Joachim seized it, hit the brute, and fainted.

When he came to, Hubert was throwing water in his face. Joachim saw that Hubert´s ear was bleeding, and realized that he was in the presence of a delivered loup-garou. Poor Joachim fell back and never again regained his senses. This story obviously has a connection with the Beauce belief that those who ignore God are destined to see a loup-garou.(35)

Pamphile LeMay´s story Le Loup Garou tells of a young couple, Misaë and Catherine, whose banns have been read and whose families are celebrating the night before the wedding.(36) The groom leaves the party at midnight and, despite searches by the guests, cannot be found. Finally, at two in the morning, he turns up with his shoulder wounded, claiming that he had fallen on the ice. Firmin, one of the guests, follows him into the room, obviously ill at ease, but says nothing. After the wedding, Misaë goes to the confessional, where he stays for a very long time.

Of course, the truth eventually comes out. Firmin had gone to the stable to see if Misaë´s horse was still there. Hearing a noise behind him, he turned and saw a huge, black dog with eyes shining like lanterns coming down the path. The guest dashed into the stable followed by the dog, which stood on its hind legs and put its front paws on Firmin´s shoulders. Not waiting to find out if the beast was going to lick him or bite him, Firmin took his pocket knife and stabbed

the dog in the shoulder. Misaël appeared and confessed that he had been a loup-garou because he had not observed Easter for seven years.

Whether or not these Québec writers were trying to create a literary tradition rather that record the oral expression of the people as Lacourcière claims is hardly significant.(37) The fact that they not only preserved much of the oral tradition intact, but that they frequently resorted to the settings in which these tales were told, does emphasize the major difference between them and their French counterparts. Dumas's use of legend is explicit, and Mérimée certainly suggests metamorphosis, but Erckman-Chatrian and Maupassant are on the periphery, and all four set their stories in Gothic surroundings.

The mentality and character of a people are discernible in elements recited in their legends. These contain the first rudiments defining natural phenomena, details of group history, and the moral principles that sanction the motives of popular action. Legend is often more reliable than history because of the mass of information it contains, even though that information may be deformed by the human imagination. Legend is accepted as a reality that touches on persons and places, and thus assists the discovery of at least part of the nature of a people. Unfortunately, oral literature tends to disappear when it is no longer part of a "living" tradition, and even though its elements

become part of a literary tradition, as this become more sophisticated, its folkloric aspect is reduced. Nevertheless, in nineteenth-century Québec, in which a literary tradition was being formed, the influence of superstition was still very apparent.

The religious elements contained in the tales, and in some of the literary works that have utilized them, and the strong affiliation with sorcery and witchcraft, underscore some of the preoccupations of the societies in which they originated. Among the French authors previously cited, however, Dumas is the only one who actually incorporates religious aspects. One of Mérimée's minor characters is a witch, but her role is to warn the Count not to marry, and to some extent, she mirrors the old Countess.

While literary tales cannot be disregarded in any study of the loup-garou motif, it is in folklore that the "purest" forms are to be found, and folklorists in France and French Canada have ensured that folk beliefs will survive, at least in print. Much of the work of French philologists and dialectologists such as Paul Sébillot and his colleagues, which stimulated Canadian folklore research, has been reissued in the last two decades. There is reason to believe that the bulk of Canadian folkore materials has been deposited in archives, and as yet, remains to be published, and utilized by writers of fiction.

CONCLUSION

THE LOUP-GAROU: An Endangered Species?

Many short story writers in Great Britain and the United States have been attracted to the werewolf theme in the twentieth century.(1) As far as can be ascertained, however, in France and Canada, only Maurice Barrès, La Colline Inspirée (1922),(2) and Anne Hébert, Les Enfants du Sabbat (1975),(3) respectively, have written novels that hint at the sense of sin attached to the werewolf in their traditions. Barrès applies the term loup garou to a minor character, a priest who supports the Revolutionaries, but his protagonist is also a priest, Leopold Baillard, who abandons the dogma of the Roman Church to follow the teachings of Vintras, an adherent of the practices of the old Celtic Church. The reader is never sure whether Vintras is a sorcerer or the Devil incarnate, but Leopold falls further and further from grace, all the time believing that he is worshipping God in the only true way. Nevertheless, on his deathbed he recants, and finds salvation.

Hébert's protagonist is a witch who infiltrates a convent where she corrupts the sisters. It is a well-constructed story, alternating between present and past, and the dream-like atmosphere so characteristic of Hébert quickly becomes nightmare. But the subject is essentially witchcraft, and the only lycanthropic

connection is that the witch's eyes are like those of a wolf. However, in general, French and French-Canadian writers do not appear to be utilizing loup-garou lore in their works.

We know, from Marie de France, that loup-garou lore existed in France from early times. The belief survived in many parts of that country, until at least the nineteenth century, by which time Christian elements had been incorporated, no doubt because of the theological debates concerning heresy and witchcraft during the Middle Ages. This modified tradition was imported into Canada with the settlers of New France in the seventeenth century, where it lost much of its association with sorcery, although not all, and became even more strongly linked with religious observances, or rather non-observances, perhaps because of the shortage of priests during the early days of the colony. In addition, the fur trade, contact with Amerindians, and the necessity of venturing away from the agricultural settlements of the St. Lawrence into the hinterland to supplement a subsistence economy created circumstances that fostered the habitant's fears about life in an apparently God-forsaken environment. These conditions, together with the cultural mix of intermarriage among people from different parts of the mother country, as well as the mix of social classes(4), produced le Canadien, a new breed with a similar, but changed

folkloric heritage.

It is evident from the testimony of French folklorists such as Fleury, "Les vieillards seuls se souviennent encore un peu pour leur compte, mais n'apprennent plus rien aux jeunes générations";(5) Carnoy, "les vieillards s'en vont, emportant avec eux beaucoup de contes et de légendes et la presque totalité de nos chansons populaires";(6) and Chapiseau (cf. Ch. 3, p. 64), that loup-garou lore, along with other folkloric beliefs were dying out even as the collections were being made. The same holds true for francophone Canada. "Les légendes canadiennes! Elle ne disent peut-être pas grand chose aux jeunes."(7)

Canadian francophones, despite all their efforts to ensure the viability of their language and culture, have been bombarded -- along with the rest of Canada -- with American values through television and film usually preferred to those produced at home. It is more than likely that young French Canadians know more about werewolves from such films as "The Wolf Man" and "An American Werewolf in London" than they do from their own oral tradition. Indeed, the werewolf theme seems to have been taken over by the cinema, perhaps because special-effects artists are able to bring their skills to the metamorphosis of man into beast.(8) Unfortunately, the theme has been twisted out of recognition in translation. According to the new view, the only way to become a werewolf is to be bitten by one.

It can be said that the screen writer of werewolf stories must also have that "particular cast of fancy", but, unfortunately, the visual rather than the aural is that which appeals to a general audience. Thus, it is the imagination of the director, with his army of technicians, which is imprinted on the viewer. The psychological state of the "werewolf" may be explored to some degree, but the psychological state of the audience can hardly be affected in the same way as in reading an author´s words, and allowing the reader´s imagination to fill in the details. Among those who know the folkloric beliefs, at least among the more naive, the feeling that "there but for the Grace of God go I" adds to the horror of some of the tales. And even among sceptics, the imagination of a skilled writer is able to appeal to the imagination of the skilled reader. What could be more gripping than this sudden transformation, an atavistic throwback to primeval savagery that endangers the social fabric?

In an urbanized, industrial world, oral culture is becoming a thing of the past. The voices of the storytellers are falling silent, and the "oral tradition" is being frozen on paper and celluloid. Children today know how to read, and although folk tales and their literary versions are available in print, a folk tale should be "told." Young people are not likely to learn the werewolf tradition as it has

existed, however modified, since prehistoric times. The "new" tradition is so twisted indeed that the loup-garou canadien may already "be" a vampire, and future "literary" loups-garou may be "loups-garous" in name only.

It cannot be thought that such tales have no following in urban society. The fact that television and films dealing with the supernatural have such huge audiences seems to suggest that there is something in all of us that demands a release from tensions that reason tells us we ought not to have. Or, perhaps those of us who were brought up on fairy-tales and ghost stories have been influenced by the debate that has waged for decades concerning the damage done to impressionable minds by horror stories.

> It would seem as though each one of us has been through a phase of individual development corresponding to that animistic stage in primitive man, that none of us has traversed it without preserving certain traces of it which can be re-activated, and that everything which now strikes us as 'uncanny' fulfils the condition of stirring those vestiges of animistic mental activity within us and bringing them to expression...this uncanny is in reality nothing new or foreign, but something familiar and old-established in the mind that has been estranged only by the process of repression.(9)

Nevertheless, the belief in the loup-garou lies on the borderline between the paranormal psychological state and the paranoid state -- a state not unknown in modern society. Robert Eisler has thrown some interesting light on the sado-masochistic connection with werewolves based on a clash of cultures between

peaceable, vegetarian early man, and the brutal, fur-wearing, carnivorous creature that he was forced to become. Eisler claims that the scars left on the collective unconscious have still not healed, and manifest themselves in murder and rape.(10)

Even in this over-simplified form of Eisler's theory, the argument cannot be easily dismissed. The werewolf is a monster of the subconscious, one to which folklore and superstition gives fleshy reality. The loup-garou belief has survived because it expresses man's fear of the beast in himself, and, consequently, these tales may have been told as much for their cathartic effect as for entertainment.

Whether or not the French and French-Canadian oral tradition will continue to survive in a truly active form -- actually being told on social occasions -- or whether the printed collections will be read, or left to gather dust on library shelves, remains to be seen. If the latter is the case, fiction writers will neglect a treasure trove that deserves to be exploited, so that at least within the covers of a book, there will always be "un loup garou qui court."

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

(1) Bordelon, Laurent, L'Histoire des imaginations de Monsieur Oufle: servant de preservatif contre la lecture des Livres qui traitent de la Magie, de Grimoire, des Démoniques, Sorciers, Loups-Garoux, Incubes, Succubes, & du Sabbat; des Songes, de la Pierre Philosphale, de l'Astrologie judicaire, des Horoscopes, Talismans, Jours heureux & malheureux, Eclipses, Commettes; & enfin de toutes les sortes d'Apparitions, de Devinations, de Sortilèges, d'Enchantement, & d'autres superstitions pratiques. Avec un très-grand nombre de Nottes curieuses, qui rapportent fidellement les endroits des Livres qui ont causé ces imaginations, & qui les combattent, 3 vols. (Paris, 1754).

(2) Linda Degh and Andrew Vazsonyi, "The Memorate and the Proto-Memorate," Journal of American Folklore 87 (1974):225-239.

(3) Maria Leach, ed., Funk and Wagnall's Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend (New York, 1949), s.v. "Folktale."

(4) Alan Dundes, "Texture, Text and Context," Southern Folklore Quarterly 28 (1964): 252, cited in Dan Ben Amos, ed., Folklore Genres (Austin & London, 1976), p. xii.

(5) Ibid.

(6) Max Lüthi, "Aspects of the Märchen," Genre 2, no. 2 (1969): 168-70.

(7) Leach, Dictionary of Folklore, s.v. "Folktale."

CHAPTER ONE: Origins and Attitudes

(1) Erik Zimen, The Wolf, trans. Eric Mosbacher (London, 1981), p. 228-9.

(2) George Catlin, Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Conditions of North American Indians, 2 vols. (New York,1973), 1:254.

(3) Thomas E. Mails, The Mystic Warriors of the Plains (Garden City, N.Y., 1972), p. 119.

(4) Barbara A. Lepoer, A Concise Dictionary of Indian Tribes of North America (Algonac, Mich.,1979), p. 249. According to the Dictionary of the American Indian (New York, 1960), the Mahicans (known to the French as "Loups") occupied the upper reaches of the Hudson River in what is now New York State, and later moved to Pennsylvania. They are not to be confused with Mohicans, an Algonkian tribe which lived near present day New London, Connecticut.

(5) Lepoer,s.v. "Mohawk", "Oneida", "Onondaga", "Seneca", "Susquehanna."

(6) Father Joseph Lafitau, Customs of the American Indians Compared with the Customs of Primitive Times (Toronto, 1974), 1:81-2.

(7) Stith Thompson, Tales of the North American Indians (Bloomington, Ind.,1966), pp. 10-11.

(8) Lepoer, p. 342.

(9) Ibid., p. 426.

(10) Reuben Thwaites, Early Western Travels, 1748-1846 (Cleveland, 1904-7), 23:325.

(11) Mails, p. 96.

(12) Diamond Jenness, The Indians of Canada (Ottawa, 1932), p. 119.

(13) Peter Farb, Man's Rise to Civilization as shown by the Indians of North America (New York, 1968), p. 63.

(14) C. Lévi-Strauss, Totemism (Boston,1963), p. 89.

(15) Lepoer, p. 472.

(16) Ibid., p. 479.

(17) Ibid., p. 432.

(18) Jean Chevalier and Alain Gheerbrant, Dictionnaire des Symboles, (Paris, 1982), s.v. "Loup (Louve)", pp. 467-9.

(19) Jacob Grimm, Teutonic Mythology, 4th ed., trans. James Steven Stallybrass, 3 vols. (London, 1882), 1:244-5.

(20) Ibid., 2:705-7.

(21) Ibid., 2:668.

(22) Dante Alighieri, The Divine Comedy, trans. John Ciardi (New York,1961), "The Inferno", Canto I, lines 48-51.

(23) Barry Holstun Lopez, Of Wolves and Men (New York, 1978), p. 209.

(24) Henry G. Liddell and Robert Scott, A Greek-English Lexicon (Oxford,1843).

(25) Isaiah, 14:12. The Interpreter's Bible (New York, 1956), 5:261, notes that material derived from the Canaanite myth of Helal is contained in verses 12-15, and that the Day Star or "Lightgiver" (cf. Vulg. "Lucifer") is the son of Shahar (Dawn).

(26) John Milton, Paradise Lost, book VII, line 131.

(27) Leland E. Hinsie and Jacob Shatzky, Psychiatric Dictionary (London, 1940), s.v. "Lycanthropy."

(28) This element is contained in many werewolf tales, both ancient and modern. See also, Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics ed. James Hastings (Edinburgh,1913), s.v. J. A. MacCulloch, "Lycanthropy," p. 206.

(29) MacCulloch, "Lycanthropy", pp. 210-13.

(30) Lewis Richard Farnell, The Cults of the Greek States, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1896), 1:41, and, Louis Séchan and Pierre Lévêque, Les Grands Divinités de la Grèce (Paris, 1966), p. 87.

(31) Pausanias, Description of Greece, trans. W.H.S. Jones. 5 vols.(London,1918), "Arcadia", xxxviii, 6-7.

(32) Lewis Richard Farnell, The Cults of the Greek States, 5 vols. (Oxford,1907), 4:99. Séchan and Lévêque state that the etymological connection between Lykaios and λύκος is far from certain, but it was made by the ancients. Apollo, in his role as protector of the flocks, would naturally be regarded as a wolf-killer. But, it is also possible that Apollo was a wolf-god. In any case, the ties between Apollo and the wolf are well founded, notably at Argos, p. 219, n. 72.

(33) Aristoteles, Historia Animalium, trans. A. L. Pick (Cambridge, 1965), VI,xxxv. Séchan and Lévéque suggest that Apollo's appelation Lykaios denotes that he was, originally, neither a wolf-killer, nor a god of light, but the son of Lycaeon Leto, p. 214.

(34) Homerus, Iliad, iv, lines 101 and 119. (E.V. Rieu, (Penguin Books, 1950) renders this as "Archer-King".

(35) Robert Graves, The Greek Myths, 2 vols. (Penguin Books, 1955), 1:201.

(36) Ibid., p. 188.

(36) Ibid., p. 188.

(37) Wilhem Hertz, Der Werwolf (Stuttgart, 1862), p. 41.

(38) Ovid, Metamorphoses, trans. Mary M. Innes (Penguin Books, 1955), p. 35.

(39) Plinius, Secundus, C. Historia Naturalis, trans. H. Rackham (London, 1938), VIII, xxxiv.

(40) Graves, p. 140.

(41) Plinius, loc. cit.

(42) Lopez, p. 232.

(43) Farnell, 1:41-42. According to Séchan and Lévêque, the most important of Zeus´s shrines was that on Mount Lycaeus, in the heart of Arcadia, where human sacrificies took place in memory of the child sacrificed by King Lycaon. These authors state that, a wolf-cult honoured Zeus, and that King Lycaon´s metamorphosis was perhaps an assimilation with the god, pp. 87-88.

(44) Laws of Edward the Confessor (c. A.D.1000), concerning fugitives from justice: Lupirium enim caput a die utlagationis quod ab Anglis wulvesheved nominatur. (A wolf head, which the English call wulvesheved from the day of his outlawry.), cited in Robert Eisler, Man into Wolf (London, 1951), p. 145, n. 112.

(45) Plutarch, Plutarch´s Lives: the Dryden Plutarch (London, 1910), III, "Romulus".

(46) Oxford Latin Dictionary, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1976).

(47) Petronius Arbiter, The Satyricon, trans. William Arrowsmith (Ann Arbor,1962), pp. 118-9.

(48) The Lais of Marie de France, trans. Robert Hanning and Joan Ferrante (New York, 1978), p. 92.

(49) The Ancient English Romance of William and the Werewolf, ed. Frederick Madden (New York, 1970).

(50) V.H.H. Green, Medieval Civilization in Western Europe (London, 1971), p.59.

(51) Zimen, p. 296.

(52) Green, Chapter 8, "Spirituality and Mysticism."

(53 Zimen, p. 298.

CHAPTER TWO: Lycanthropy and Heresy in History

All Biblical quotations are from the King James Version.

(1) E. William Monter, Witchcraft in France and Switzerland (Ithaca,N.Y.,1976), p. 18.

(2) New Catholic Encyclopedia, 16 vols. (New York, 1967), s.v. "Heresy, History of."

(3) Friedrich Heer, The Medieval World (London, 1961), pp. 162-73.

(4) Heer, p. 35.

(5) V. H. H. Green, Medieval Civilization in Western Europe (London, 1971), p. 97.

(6) H. R. Trevor-Roper, "The European Witch-Craze," in Witchcraft and Sorcery, ed. Max Marwick (Penguin, 1970), p. 141.

(7) Heer, p. 8.

(8) Babylonian Captivity refers to the papacy's sojourn at Avignon from 1309-1377.

(9) Monter, p. 18.

(10) Trevor-Roper, p. 121.

(11) Augustinas, Aurelius, Saint, Bp. of Hippo, The City of God Against the Pagans, trans. E. W. Sandford and W. M. Green, 7 vols (London, 1965), 5:XVIII, xviii.

(12) Ibid.

(13) Roland Villeneuve, Loups-Garous et Vampires (Paris, 1970), p. 9.

(14) Trevor-Roper, p. 122.

(15) Green, p. 99.

(16) Henricus Institorus, Malleus Maleficarum, trans. Montague Summers (London, 1928).

(17) Monter, p. 25.

(18) Malleus Maleficarum, Part I, Question 12, p. 69.

(19) Ibid., Part I, Question 10, p. 64.

(20) Ibid., Part I, Question 10, p. 63.

(21) These physical signs are cited in Ian Woodward, The Werewolf Delusion (New York, 1979), p. 51, and, Douglas Hill and Pat Williams, The Supernatural (New York, 1965), p. 279. Unfortunately, none of these authors quote their sources.

(22) Useful syntheses of folkloric beliefs and their consequences during the medieval and Renaissance periods can be found in J. Tondriau and R. Villeneuve, Dictionnaire du Diable et de la Démonologie (Paris, 1968), s.v. "Loup-garou" and "Lycanthrope", and Rossell Hope Robbins, The Encyclopedia of Witchcraft and Demonology (New York, 1959), s.v. "Lycanthropy".

(23) Villeneuve, (1970), p. 20.

(24) Ibid., p. 21.

(25) Ibid,. p. 23

(26) Pierre de Lancre, Inconstance, cited in Villeneuve, (1970), p. 24.

(27) Trevor-Roper, p. 126.

(28) Jean Bodin, Démonomanie des Sorciers (Paris, 1580), cited in, Villeneuve, (1970), p. 70.

(29) Montagu Summers, The Werewolf (London, 1933), pp. 223-5.

(30) Ibid., pp. 225-8.

(31) Ibid., p. 228.

(32) Hastings, p. 214.

(33) Ibid., p. 215.

(34) Summers, p. 229.

(35) Montet, p. 146.

(36) Summers, pp. 122.

(37) Ibid., p. 122-3.

(38) Ibid., pp. 230.

(39) Ibid., pp. 230-1.

(40) Ibid., pp. 231-4.

(41) Villeneuve, (1970), pp. 29-45.

(42) Ibid., p. 43.

(43) Hedwig Scheiffer, Narcotic Plants of the Old World Used in Rituals and Everyday Life (Monticello,N.Y., 1979).

(44) Villeneuve, (1970), p. 145-177; Eisler, pp. 23-6.

(45) Ian Woodward, The Werewolf Delusion (New York, 1979), pp. 162-8; 50-2; 53.

(46) Trevor-Roper, p. 142.

(47) Ibid., p. 137.

(48) J. A. Dalle, Choses et gens de Gévaudan (Paris, 1972), pp. 176-196.

CHAPTER THREE: France: Lycanthropy in Folklore

(1) Paul Robert, Dictionnaire Alphabétique et Analogique de la Langue Française, 6 vols. (Paris, 1965).

(2) Tondrian and Villeneuve, p. 115b.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Zimen, Table 19, p. 360.

(5) Paul Sébillot, Le Folk-lore de la Bretagne, 2 vols. (Paris, 1968), 2:139.

(6) Paul Sébillot, Le Folk-lore de France, 4 vols. (Paris, 1907), III:56.

(7) Amélie Bosquet, La Normandie Romanesque et Merveilleuse (Paris, 1845), p.239, and Paul Sébillot, Traditions et Superstitions de la Haute-Bretagne, 2 vols. (Paris, 1882), I: 289.

(8) Sébillot, Folklore de la Bretagne, p. 139.

(9) Adolphe Orain, Folk-lore de l'Ille-et-Vilaine (Paris, 1897), p. 157.

(10) Félix Chapiseau, Le Folk-lore de la Beauce et du Perche (Paris, 1902), p. 198.

(11) Ibid., p. 219.

(12) Ibid., p. 199.

(13) Ibid., p. 220.

(14) Sébillot, Traditions...de la Haute Bretagne, pp. 300-1

(15) Ibid., p. 272.

(16) Ibid., p. 290.

(17) Ibid., p. 293.

(18) Sébillot, Folk-lore de la Bretagne, p. 140.

(19) L. F. Sauvé, Le Folk-lore des Hautes-Vosges (Paris, 1888), pp. 177-9.

(20) Germain Laisnel de la Salle, Le Berry: Croyances et légendes (Paris, 1875), p. 216.

(21) Jean Fleury, Littérature Orale de la Picardie (Paris, 1883), p.102. This term was also used in Brittany (Sébillot, Haut-Bretagne, p. 298) where cats play a dominant role. To prevent their going to the sabbat, the tip of the tail was cut off. According to A. Bosquet (p.218), this practice was also followed in Normandy.

(22) Sébillot, Folklore de la Bretagne, pp. 138; 140.

(23) This occurred in Brittany (Sébillot,Folk-lore de la Bretagne, p. 140), in the Auvergne (Sébillot, Littérature de l'Auvergne, pp. 228-232), and Normandy (Bosquet, p. 222).

(24) Jean Fleury, Littérature de la Basse-Normandie (Paris, 1883), pp. 84-89.

(25) Félix Chapiseau, Le Folk-lore de la Beauce et le Perche (Paris, 1902), p. 219.

(26) Laisnel de la Salle, p. 216.

(27) Sébillot, Traditions...de la Haute-Bretagne, pp. 294-6.

(28) Sébillot, Le Folk-lore de France, II:205.

(29) Ibid., p. 373.

(30) Bosquet, p. 237.

(31) Vampires and loups-garous are commonly associated in the Balkans. See, Handwörterbuch zur Deutschen Volkskunde (Berlin, 1934-5): VI, s.v. "Nachzehrer".

(32) Sébillot, Le Folk-lore de France, IV:240.

(33) Sébillot, Le Folk-lore de France, III:57, claims these beings for Normandy, but, George Sand, Légendes Rustiques, (Paris, 1858), pp. 117-23, reports them as existing in Berry.

(34) Bosquet, p. 236.

(35) Sauvé, pp. 179-82.

(36) Sébillot, Folk-lore de la Bretagne, p. 139.

(37) Ibid.

(38) Ibid., p. 140.

(39) Ibid., p. 141.

(40) Victor Brunet, Contes Populaires de la Basse-Normandie (Paris, 1900), p. 47.

(41) Fleury, p. 88.

(42) Fleury, p. 89. This differs somewhat from the tradition as employed by Marie de France.

(43) Carnoy, pp. 106-8.

(44) Sébillot, Traditions...de la Haute-Bretagne, p. 295.

(45) Chapiseau, p. 219.

(46) Sauvé, p. 177.

(47) Laisnel de la Salle, p. 210.

(48) Sébillot, Folklore de la Bretagne, p. 140.

(49) Chapiseau, p. 219.

(50) Orain, p. 157.

(51) Sébillot, Folk-lore de la Bretagne, p. 140. Cf. the story of the noblewoman and the huntsman, Ch. 2, pp. 37-8.

(52) Ibid., p. 139.

(53) Laisnel de la Salle, p. 209 .

(54) Ibid., pp. 210-15.

(55) Ibid., p. 215.

(56) Sébillot, Folk-lore de la Bretagne, p. 147.

(57) Ibid., p. 142.

(58) Ibid., p. 144.

(59) Sauvé, pp. 179-82

(60) Sébillot, Folk-lore de la Bretagne, p. 145.

(61) Ibid., p. 146.

(62) Ibid.

(63) Sand, pp. 107-13.

(64) Sébillot, Folk-lore de la Bretagne, p. 142.

(65) Sébillot, Folk-lore de France, I:284.

(66) Sébillot, Folk-lore de la Bretagne, p. 142.

(67) Sébillot, Folk-lore de France, I:285.

(68) Sébillot, Folk-lore de la Bretagne, p. 142.

(69) Ibid.

(70) Ibid.

(71) Sébillot, Folk-lore de France, I:287.

(72) Chapiseau, p. 218.

(73) Carnoy, pp. 108-110.

(74) Sébillot, Folk-lore de France, I:285.

(75) Sébillot, Folk-lore de France, I:285.

(76) Sand, pp. 79-84.

(77) Chapiseau, Introduction, p. viii.

CHAPTER FOUR: France in the New World

There are a number of works which can be consulted for information on the history and development of French Canada from the beginnings of colonization to the present day. They include, in addition to those cited: Pierre Boucher, Histoire véritable et naturelle... (Boucherville, 1964); F.-X. Garneau, Histoire de Canada depuis sa découverte jusqu'à nos jours, 2 vols. (Paris, 1913-20); Michel Brunet, French Canada and the Early Decades of British Rule (Ottawa, 1968); W.J. Eccles,

The Canadian Frontier, 1534-1760 (New York, 1969); W. J. Eccles, France in America (Toronto, 1972) ; W. L. Morton, The Kindom of Canada (Toronto, 1963); Fernand Ouellet, Histoire économique et sociale de Québec, 1760-1850 (Montreal, 1966); Mason Wade, The French-Canadians, 1760-1967, 2 vols. (Toronto, 1968).

(1) Edouard-Zoatique Massicotte, Conteurs Canadiens-Français du XIXe Siècle (Montreal, 1908), p. v.

(2) W. L. Morton, The Kingdom of Canada (Toronto, 1963), pp. 23-25.

(3) Raoul Blanchard, Le Canada Français (Montreal, 1947), p. 35.

(4) Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France 1610-1791, 73 vols. (Cleveland, 1897).

(5) For example, vol. 5:122-4.

(6) Robert-Lionel Séguin, La Vie Libertine en Nouvelle-France au XVIIe Siècle, 2 vols. (Montreal, 1972). The colonists were vigorous, healthy people who, once they were established in the new land, lived their lives as people do everywhere.

(7) Archange Godbout, "Nos hérédités provinciales françaises." Les Archives de Folklore, I (Montreal, 1946), pp. 32-4.

(8) Ibid., p. 36.

(9) Lettres de la vénérable Mère Marie de l'Incarnation, première supérieure du Monastre des Ursulines de Québec, ed. P. F. Richardeau, 2 vols. (Paris, 1876).

(10) Morton, pp. 65-66, contains an excellent summary of the life of the coureur de bois. Until 1681, laws forbade unlicensed trading, hence the name had a pejorative sense meaning virtually an outlaw.

(11) The main source of information on the adaptations to winter by the colonists is Sophie-Laurence Lamontagne, L'Hiver dans la culture québécoise (XVIIe-XIXe siècles) (Quebec, 1983).

(12) Jesuit Relations, 7:36, gives a minute description of the Amerind winter dwellings.

(13) Lamontagne, pp. 59-60, and Robert-Lionel Séguin, La Civilisation Traditonelle de l'"Habitant" aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles (Montreal, 1973), pp. 459-475.

(14) Pierre Deffontaines, "The Rang -- Pattern of Rural Settlement in French Canada," and Jean-Charles Falardeau, "The Seventeenth-Century Parish in French Canada," in Marcel Rioux, ed., French-Canadian Society (Toronto, 1964), cover the development of the rang pattern, and the culture that evolved.

(15) Pierre-Georges Roy, "Nos coutumes et traditions françaises," Les Cahiers des Dix, 4 (1939):67-8.

(16) When the American colonies rebelled and invaded Canada in 1775, the habitants refused to take up arms despite the authoritative appeals of bishops, clergy and seigneurs. M. Brunet, p. 10.

(17) Léon Gérin, Le type economique des Canadiens (Montreal, 1938), pp. 103-4.

(18) Séguin, La Civilisation..., Lamontagne, and l'Abbé Albert Tessier, "La vie rurale vers 1800," Les Cahiers des Dix, 10 (1945), all speak of the habitant's vanity, and of his two major vices -- rum and horses.

(19) Séguin, La Civilisation..., p. 59.

(20) Ibid.

(21) Lamontagne, p. 107.

(22) Wade, I:5.

(23) Paul Johnson, A History of Christianity (New York, 1980), pp. 346-7.

(24) Luc Lacourcière, "The Present State of French-Canadian Folklore Studies," in Folklore Research Around the World ed. by Richard M. Dorson (Bloomington, 1961), p. 88.

CHAPTER FIVE: Canada: A Tradition Transplanted and Transformed

(1) Massicotte, Conteurs, p.v.

(2) The first settlers were not illiterate: signatures in parish registers and the fact that some owned books attest to this. According to Séguin, their tastes ran to the Bible and the lives of Saints. Their descendants, however, or at least those who remained on the land, were not intersted in education, preferring to invest their money in more land. La Civilisatio..., pp. 39-40.

(3) C.-Marius Barbeau, "Anecdotes Populaires du Canada," Journal of American Folklore 33(1920):173.

(4) Robert-Lionel Séguin, La Sorcellerie au Canada Français du XVIIe au XIXe Siècles (Montreal, 1961), Introduction.

(5) Jesuit Relations, 5:70.

(6) Ibid., p. 218.

(7) Ibid., 14:36.

(8) Ibid., 12:86.

(9) Ibid., 15:32-34.

(10) Ibid., 12:6.

(11) Lafitau, 1:247-248.

(12) Jesuit Relations, 25:249-271.

(13) Ibid., 46:262-4.

(14) Camille-Georges Roy, "Les Légendes Canadiennes," Les Cahiers des Dix 2(1937):51.

(15) Ibid., pp. 51-52.

(16) Séguin, La Sorcellerie..., p. 39.

(17) Letter from l'Abbé Armand Dubé, priest at Kamouraska, to R.-L. Séguin, dated October 28, 1959.

(18) C.-Marius Barbeau, "Le Folklore canadien français," Royal Society of Canada. Proceedings and Transactions IX (1916): 449.

(19) Luc Lacourcière, "The Present State of French-Canadian Folklore Studies," in Richard M. Dorson, Folklore Studies Around the World (Bloomington, 1961), p. 90.

(20) Kay Stone, ed. Prairie Folklore (Winnipeg, 1976).

(21) Roy (1937):50-1. This is an almost direct copy of a definition given by Sylvia Clapin, "Les Loups Garous," Bulletin des Recherches Historiques 5 (1899):304.

(22) Barbeau, (1920):212-3, "La Haire du chien."

(24) Catherine Jolicoeur, Les Plus Belles Légendes Acadiennes (Paris, 1981), "L'Ours Garou," p. 57; Germain Lemieux, Les Vieux M'Ont Conté, (Montreal, 1973-84) 6:69 and 70-2; Richard M. Dorson, Bloodstoppers and Bearwalkers (Cambridge, Mass., 1972), p. 71.

(24) Jesuit Relations, 12:15.

(25) Anne Hébert, in her novel Les Enfants du Sabbat, writes of an hallucinatory ointment smeared on participants at a sabbat. The result, however, seems to be the freeing of sexual inhibitions, rather than metamorphosis.

(26) Jolicouer, p.58, "Les fanaux qui dansent."

(27) "Le Cheval Blanc." Barbeau, (1920):207-9.

(28) Barbeau, (1920):207-9, "Le Cheval Blanc"; Lemieux, 6:175, "Les Loups-garous, feux-follet, marionettes"; Jean-Claude Dupont, Le Légendaire de la Beauce (Quebec, 1974), p. 48; Dorson, p. 71; Pierre Daviault, "Contes Populaires Canadiens," Journal of American Folklore 53 (1940):159.

(29) Barbeau (1920):211-2, "Le loup-garou de cimetière." An English translation can be found in Edith Fowke, Folklore of French Canada (Toronto, 1979).

(30) Barbeau (1920):213-4, "Le Crémone et le loup-garou."

(31) Roy, (1937):50; Victor Morin, "Superstitions et Croyances Populaires." Royal Society of Canada. Proceedings and Transactions 31 (1937):56.

(32) W. J. Wintemberg, "French Canadian Folk-Tales," Journal of American Folklore 17 (1904):265.

(33) Barbeau (1920):209, "Le petit boeuf." (Beauce)

(34) Barbeau (1920):207-8, "Le mari changé en bête." (Gaspé); Ibid., pp. 204-5, "Le Compère changé en boeuf." (Gaspé); Henri Létourneau, "La Vache Caille," Henri Létourneau Raconte (Winnipeg, 1978), pp. 95-99 (Manitoba Métis. Spell thrown by an Indian).

(35) Barbeau (1920):214 "Les loups-garou des Rapides-au-Diable." (Beauce)

(36) Létourneau, pp. 101-6.

(37) Morin, p. 56; Dupont, p. 47; Barbeau (1920): 204-5.

(38) Dupont, p. 53.

(39) Lemieux, 14:127, "Un loup-garou sème la crainte."

(40) Lemieux 6:70. (Ontario)

(41) Barbeau (1920):207-9, "Le cheval blanc." (Gaspé); Ibid.,p. 263, "Chasse- galery et loups-garou." (no location); Ibid., pp. 286-92, "Le loup-garou et le feu-follet de

Marcello." (L'Islet); Lemieux, 6:71 and 175; Ibid., 16:54; Ibid., 14:125 (Ontario); Dupont, p. 47 (Beauce); Jolicoeur, p. 55; 57 (Acadia); "La Robe Rouge." Létourneau, p. 106 (Manitoba).

(42) Barbeau (1920):207-9, "Le Cheval blanc." pp. 207-9. (Gaspé); Ibid., p. 209, "Le petit boeuf." (Gaspé)

(43) Barbeau (1920): 209-10, "La Tache du Baptême." (Beauce)

(44) Morin, pp. 56-7.

(45) Barbeau (1920):207-9, "Le Cheval blanc." (Gaspé)

(46) Dupont, p. 47.

(47) Barbeau (1920):204-5, "Le Compère changé en boeuf." (Gaspé); Ibid., pp. 205-7, "Le Mari changé en bête." (Gaspé); Lemieux, 14:125, "Le Loup-garou Délivré." (Ontario).

(48) Barbeau (1920): 211-2, "Le loup-garou de cimetière." (Gaspé); Lemieux 16: 55 (Manitoba Métis).

(49) Dupont, p. 49.

(50) Barbeau (1920):209, "Le petit boeuf." (Beauce); Ibid., pp. 209-10, "La Tache de Baptême." (Beauce); Dupont, p. 48; 49.

(51) Barbeau, (1920):212-3, "La Haire du chien." (Gaspé); Ibid., pp. 213-4, "La Crémone et le loup-garou." (Beauce); Ibid., p. 214, "Les loup-garous des Rapides-au-Diable." (Beauce); Ibid., pp. 214-5, "Le sac de laine." (Beauce).

(52) Barbeau (1920):212-3, "Le petit boeuf." (Beauce); Ibid., pp. 209-10, "La Tache du baptême." (Beauce); Ibid., pp. 286-92, "Le loup-garou et le feu-follet de Marcello." (L'Islet); Lemieux 6:70 and 14:125 (Ontario); Morin, p. 57.

(53) Morin, p. 57.

(54) Dorson, pp. 76-77.

(55) Jolicoeur, p. 57, "L'homme changé en chien."; Dupont, p. 54; Lemieux 6:71 and 175 (Ontario); Barbeau (1920): 209, "Le petit boeuf." (Beauce).

(56) Dupont, p. 49; Barbeau (1920), pp. 205-8; Jolicoeur, pp. 57-8.

(57) Soeur Marie Ursule, Civilisation Traditionelle des Lavalois (Québec,1951), p. 195-6.

(58) Dupont, p. 49.

(59) Dupont p. 50.

(60) Roy, p. 52.

(61) Barbeau (1920): 201, "Le feu follet et le couteau." (Beauce).

(62) Barbeau (1920):201-2, "Le petit feu qui voltige." (Beauce). E.-Z. Massicotte, "Feux-follets." Bulletin des Recherches Historiques 35(1929):645, says that for certain people, feux-follets are "souls in pain" looking for deliverance.

(63) Dupont, p. 50.

(64) Jolicoeur, pp. 32-33, "L'Homme changé en feu follet."

(65) Dupont, p. 50.

(66) Lemieux 15:123.

(67) Barbeau (1920):264, "Chasse-galery et loups-garous." (L'Islet).

(68) Jolicoeur, pp. 34-6, "Feu-follet de mécréant."

(69) Jolicoeur, p. 34, "Les feux-follets de la baissière."

(70) Jolicoeur, p. 37, "Les feux-sorciers."

(71) Dupont, p. 55.

(72) Dupont, p. 54.

(73) Dupont, pp. 55-6. During the nineteenth century, a significant number of Irish immigrants made their homes in Beauce.

(74) Lemieux, 6:67. This tale was recounted in Ontario, but the informant had spent his childhood in Wentworth, Que.

(75) Lemieux 6:69.

(76) oxen:- Barbeau (1920), pp. 204-5 (Gaspé); Ibid., p. 209 (Beauce); Dupont, p. 47; Lemieux 14: 127.

calves:- Barbeau (1920):209-10 (Beauce); Ibid., pp. 213-4 (Beauce); Dupont, p. 47.

cow:- Létourneau, pp. 95-99.

horses:- Barbeau (1920): 207-9 (Gaspé); Lemieux

6:70-1 (Ontario); Wintemberg, p. 265 (no location).

dog:- Barbeau (1920), 212-3 (Gaspé); Dupont, p. 47; Jolicoeur, p. 57 and 58; Lemieux 16:54-55; Létourneau pp. 101-6 (described as "wolf" or "dog").

pig:- Dupont, p. 47; Dorson, p. 77.

cat:- Dupont, p. 47.

(77) snake:- Lemieux 6:71.

(78) bear:- Jolicoeur, p. 56; Dorson, p. 76.

(79) beast:-Barbeau (1920): 205-7.

(80) Barbeau (1920): 214-5.

(81) Barbeau (1920): 286-9.

(82) Lemieux 6: 133 .

(83) Lemieux 16: 55 (Manitoba Métis).

(849 Barbeau (1920): 211-2. (Gaspé).

(85) Barbeau (1920): 212-3. (Gaspé).

(86) Barbeau (1920): 205-7.(Gaspé)

(87) Ibid., pp. 207-9 (Gaspé).

(88) Ibid., pp. 205-5 (Gaspé).

(89) Barbeau (1920):213-5; Dupont, p. 47.

(90) Lemeiux, 6: 70.

(91) Jolicoeur, p. 56.

(91) Dorson, p. 77.

(93) Ibid., p. 75.

(94) Lemieux 16: 165 -167.

(95) Lemieux 2:197; Dupont, p. 52; Soeur Marie- Ursule, p. 196.

(96) Dupont, p. 53.

CHAPTER SIX: The Modern Aftermath

(1) Joseph Addison, Spectator Papers,ed. G. Gregor Smith, 8 vols. (London, 1897)6: No.149.

(2) From R. D. Jameson´s definition of folklore in Maria Leach, ed. Funk and Wagnall´s Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend. 2 vols. (New York, 1949):1, 401.

(3) Addison, Ibid.

(4) Louis Vax, Les Chefs-d´oeuvres de la Littérature Fantastique (Paris, 1979), p. 16.

(5) Pierre-George Castex, Le Conte Fantastique en France de Nodier à Maupassant (Paris, 1951), p. 8.

(6) Tzvetan Todorov, The Fantastic (Cleveland & London, 1973), p. 157.

(7) Eric S. Rabkin, The Fantastic in Literature (Princeton, N. J., 1976), pp. 4-5.

(8) Ibid., p. 18.

(9) Alexandre Dumas, "Le Meneur de loups," in Alexandre Dumas Illustré, v.14 (Paris, 1905), Part 2, pp. 1-68.

(10) Erckman-Chatrian, "Hughes-le-loup." in Contes de la Montagne (Paris, 1860), pp. 81-276.

(11) Ibid., p. 113.

(12) Ibid., p. 194.

(13) Prosper Mérimée, Lokis (Paris, 1946).

(14) Guy de Maupassant, "Le Loup," in Contes et Nouvelles (Paris, 1957), pp. 1241-6.

(15) Ibid., p. 1246.

(16) Lacourcière, p. 88.

(17) Philippe Ignace-François Aubert de Gaspé, "L´ Influence d´un livre, ou, Le Chercheur de trésors." in La Littérature Canadienne de 1850 à 1860 (Quebec, 1864), pp. 125-220.

(18) Philippe-Joseph Aubert de Gaspé, Les Anciens Canadiens (Montreal, 1967).

(19) J.-C. Taché, Forestiers et Voyageurs (Montreal, 1884), pp. 148-153.

(20) Pays d'en haut: the descriptive name for the far west, meaning literally, the country upriver, or the country upriver from Montreal.

(21) Voyageurs: wage-earning canoe-men who transported trade goods and supplies to the western posts of the fur-trade.

(22) Taché, p.

(23) Chasse-galerie: a flying birch-bark canoe that transported those in league with Satan if they adhered to the following conditions: (i) they did not mention the name of God during the journey; (ii) they did not make the sign of the cross whenever they saw a church spire; (iii) if they violated either of the first two conditions they would give their soul to the Devil, Massicotte, Conteurs..., p. 312.

(24) Sacakoua: an Indian word meaning the sound of an infernal orgy, Massicotte, Conteurs..., p. 324.

(25) Jesuit Relations, 4:171.

(26) Faucher de Saint-Maurice, "Le Feu des Roussi," in Massicotte, Conteurs..., pp. 71 -90.

(27) Ibid., p. 90.

(28) Benjamin Sulte, "Le Loup Garou," in Massicotte, Conteurs, pp.93-101.

(29) See Ch. 5, n. 10.

(30) See Ch. 5, n. 88.

(31) See Ch. 5, n. 30.

(32) Pierre J.-O. Chauveau, "L'Histoire du Lanouet," in Massicotte, Conteurs..., pp. 105-113.

(33) Louvigny de Montigny, "Une Histoire de Loup-Garou," in Massicotte, Conteurs..., pp. 263-73. All further references to this work will be made in the text.

(34) Louis Fréchette, "Le Loup Garou." in Contes I: La Noël au Canada (Montreal, 1974), pp. 167-175. An English translation can be found in A. B. Garvin, Legends of the St. Lawrence (n.p., 1926), p. 15.

(35) See Ch. 5, n. 33.

(36) Pamphile LeMay, "Le Loup-garou," in Contes

Vraies (Montreal, 1907), pp. 321-337.

(38) Lacourcière, p. 88.

CONCLUSION: The Loup-Garou: An Endangered Species?

(1) An extensive list of short stories dealing with the werewolf can be found in Basil Copper, The Werewolf in Legend, Fact and Art (New York, 1977), pp. 231-33.

(2) Maurice Barrès, La Colline Inspirée (Paris, 1922).

(3) Anne Hébert, Les Enfants de Sabbat (Montreal, 1975).

(4) Marcel Rioux, "Folk and Folklore," Journal of American Folklore 63 (1950):196.

(5) Fleury, p. i.

(6) Carnoy, p. vii.

(7) Roy (1937), p. 45.

(8) A list of commercially produced films on the werewolf theme is given in Copper, pp. 234-5.

(9) Sigmund Freud, "The `Uncanny´," in Selected Papers (New York, 1954)4:394.

(10) Eisler, passim.

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